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TWO SOULS IN ONE BODY?

BOOKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE KALLIKAK FAMILY

FEEBLEMINDEDNESS, ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

THE CRIMINAL IMBECILE

THE SCHOOL TRAINING OF DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NORMAL AND SUBNORMAL

HUMAN EFFICIENCY AND LEVELS OF INTELLIGENCE

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY



Norppa
Two characteristic expressions

TWO SOULS IN ONE BODY?

A CASE OF DUAL PERSONALITY

*A Study of a Remarkable Case: Its Significance
for Education and for the Mental
Hygiene of Childhood*

BY
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PREFACE

The readers of this book, if any, will probably peruse its pages for several different reasons. Some will be interested in the details of a "Jekyll and Hyde" in real life: the uncanny behavior of this nineteen year old girl, will appeal to their interest in the occult. The physician may read it as one more case-history in hysteria. The scientist may read it for its detail of fact and to help him to understand another phase of abnormal psychology. It is hoped that each of these possible readers will find something to repay him for his time.

While the author has had in mind these different types of readers, the purpose in recording this story has not been *primarily* to satisfy any of the groups mentioned. Many years of work on the problems of childhood has shown the author what a large proportion of children become mentally and morally malformed as the result of mistreatment by their parents or teachers. Often these parents as well as the teachers are intelligent and well educated. Their error comes from a false theory, or they act impulsively. They do not realize the lasting effects of certain attitudes toward children, or the result of certain kinds of

treatment. This preface would be longer than the book if we attempted to give illustrations and cite instances. We must content ourselves with a single type but we will take the type that is perhaps accountable for more harm to childhood and consequently to the coming generation than any other, possibly than all others combined. It is the idea of badness. The child who makes mistakes and does wrong things is considered "bad" and at once labeled "bad." There is no need of any further inquiry or attempt to explain the child's actions. Thus, a fundamental misunderstanding begins, and all the evils of the category may follow.

The heroine, if we may call her such, of this book, was never considered "bad," but she was continually misunderstood and mistreated. Behavior that was the direct result of her physical condition was treated as a character trait and as such regarded as uncorrectable. Whereas, a true understanding of her condition would have removed all of the causes in the beginning and saved all of the resultant experiences. It is the hope of the author that many who read this book will get the point and thus something will be started which will hasten the day when children will be understood and when neither parents nor teachers will believe that any child does wrong simply because he is "bad."

We may admit to a secondary purpose in writing the book, namely to help eliminate superstition. To many this is futile. We admit it is largely so, and we have no illusions of seeing the various cults give up their pet theories, yet how is the truth to prevail if scientific facts and explanations are not continually paraded before the too superstitious public? If we can take one more experience out of the realm of the mystical, it will be worth while. If even a few people can be made to see that some occurrences which appear astounding when only partially understood, become simple and natural phenomena when one gets complete information, something will be accomplished.

Superstition is founded on incomplete knowledge of facts. The author has a friend who is a physician. He had been out into the country to see a patient. It was long past midnight when an acquaintance going in the opposite direction saw the doctor in the middle of the country road on his hands and knees, feeling around in the dirt. He stopped his machine and called to him to know what he was doing. The reply came back promptly in all seriousness, "hunting for gold fish." The acquaintance was horrified as the thought went through his head, "My God, the doctor has gone crazy." Who would not have had some such thought upon finding a man in the darkness, hunting for goldfish in the dust of a lonely country

road? But the doctor was not crazy; he was behaving with complete intelligence. The other facts that belong to this story are: the doctor's patient had given him a bowl of goldfish which he had placed in his car. Driving in the dark the car had hit an unseen bump the shock of which had broken the bowl, spilling part of the water and with it the fish. One he had picked up in the bottom of the car, but two seemed to have been thrown out into the road and he hoped to find them.

Most of the belief in the occult comes from not having *all* of the facts. The story of Polly as it appeared in the daily press was uncanny. With all the facts available, while still interesting and unusual, it becomes not only believable, but understandable.

The foregoing statement will enable the scientific reader to understand the reasons for the form in which the narrative has been presented.

It remains to express my gratitude to those who have assisted in the care and study of the case, notably to Dr. Earl Gaver of Columbus who gave freely of his advice as to treatment: to Dr. J. Edwin Brown of Columbus who performed a tonsil operation; to Dr. Chas. F. Bowen of Columbus for X-rays; to the management of Grant Hospital for free service; to Dr. A. J. Bush for dentistry; to Dr. Eugene F. McCampbell Dean of the College of Medicine and his assistants at University Hos-

pital; to Mr. R. P. Rauch and my other assistants at the Bureau of Juvenile Research; and to all others who have given service or advice to help restore Norma to health and happiness.

I wish also to express my appreciation of the excellent care and treatment Norma has received at the Columbus State Hospital through the interest and skill of Dr. Pritchard and Dr. Bradley of that institution.

In the preparation of this book I am indebted to Dr. George F. Arps, Dean of the College of Education and Dr. Boyd H. Bode, Professor of Principles and Practice of Education, College of Education, Ohio State University for reading the Ms. and for valuable suggestions. Lastly, many a rough place has been made smooth for the reader by the keen eye and critical ability of my Secretary, Mrs. Lillian Edwards Browne.

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CHAPTER I

THE TWO SOULS

It was the first day of Autumn, the twenty-second of September, 1921, that we received into the institution Miss R——, whom we shall familiarly call Norma. Her friends brought her in an automobile some hundred and fifty miles. They arrived in the early evening.

Norma was a young woman nineteen years of age, of pleasing appearance; she had delicate features, was well proportioned, and in every way was highly attractive. She was rather slender, weighing only about one hundred pounds, and stood five feet five inches in height. She was easy in manner and spoke naturally, in a well modulated voice, as she was introduced to those present upon her arrival. When asked if she had enjoyed the ride, she replied, with a winning smile, "I am afraid I do not remember much about it. I think I slept most of the time." Taken to the cottage dining-room for supper, she ate moderately and with an air of refinement, which showed a careful bringing up.

After supper, she said that she was rather tired and would retire early. She seemed pleased with

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her room and surroundings and was agreeable to all whom she met. I was not among those who saw her that first evening.

The next morning, I hastened to the hospital department to see our new patient. She was sitting up in bed, while around her were the nurse and one or two assistants. As I stepped into the doorway, she caught sight of me and shouted with a loud boisterous laugh, "Oh, there is Sarah." As I approached the bedside, she greeted me in a childish, careless tone, with "Hello!" I said, "What is your name?" To which she replied with the same careless tone, "Polly."

"And how old are you?"

"Four years."

"And what are you doing?"

"Playing."

And she continued to play; paying no more attention to me than any four-year-old child might to an adult who was not in the game. When I sat down by her bedside and spoke to her again, she looked up and called out, "Oh, see the funny eyes!" and grabbed for my glasses. We learned that "funny eyes" was her name for glasses. She next spied my Eversharp pencil, grabbed it out of my pocket and unscrewed the top. When I tried to take it again, she snatched it away and cried in a petulant tone, "No." She unscrewed it, took it all apart, scattered the leads all over the bed. These,

however, she picked up and put back and finally handed it to me really none the worse.

Then she was ready for something else. She liked to scribble with a pencil. She could not write and she could not read. She referred to the nurse's white apron as "yellow" and so we asked her the names of other colors. A bright red was "purple," while blue was "brown" and for each color she had a different color name.

I soon discovered that I was not the only one to be honored by a lady's name, for every one who came into the room was immediately given a name, always a woman's. Mr. Rauch was June; Mr. Durea, Rose; Mr. Bachtel, Emma; Dr. Sharp, Pearl; Mr. Caldwell, Bessie; Miss Fritz, Mary; Miss Rickey, Ruth; and the nurse, Dorothy. Moreover, these names once given were fixed and she never made a mistake or hesitated for a moment to call each one of us by the name that she had assigned us.

When her dinner was brought to her, she ate with a voracious appetite and in a manner that was unpleasant to see. Large mouthfuls and everything at once. She grabbed anything within reach and called rudely for what she could not reach. A spoiled child, if ever there was one.

She took a dislike to the nurse and would do nothing the latter told her to do. To those whom she liked, she behaved like a rather good baby.

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Her language was for the most part "baby talk"; for instance, having done some little simple trick, she would say, "Can 'oo do that?" or "Me can do this." Or again she would look up and say, "Does 'oo like me?" or "Ain't I pretty?"

I asked her if she knew Norma. She replied in the same careless tone that she often used, "Yes." I said, "Who is she?" and she replied, "Oh, a friend of mine that is coming to see me some time."

Suddenly she fell back on the pillow like one who had fainted or dropped dead. Her muscles were completely relaxed and nothing could awaken her. We shook her, we shouted to her, we did everything that we could think of, but did not succeed in awakening her.

This was the secondary personality that we had heard of and read about. After a minute or two of quiet sleep and relaxation, she might become very violent and wild in her sleep. After a longer or shorter period of this, she would become quiet again and then awaken. When she awoke, she might be Polly, or she might be Norma.

The first time I saw her as Norma, I stood in the doorway, just as when I first saw Polly. Norma also was sitting up in bed. She glanced in my direction and then turned toward the nurse, who said, "Do you know that gentleman?" She replied,

in the same quiet polite manner that we have already described, "No, I have never met him." We were then introduced. I asked her who Sarah was. She looked perplexed and said, "I don't know of any one."

I tested her on a great many things that she had said or done in the Polly stage. All was a blank. She had eaten dinner as Polly, but when I asked her if she remembered what she had for dinner she replied, "I haven't had my dinner." I asked her what was the last thing that she remembered before she went to sleep. She replied promptly by mentioning the last thing that she had done when she was previously Norma. I said, "Do you know Polly?" She blushed as she replied, "Oh, have I been Polly?" I said, "Who is she?" She replied, "I don't understand it, but they tell me that in my sleep I call myself Polly and do all sorts of things which I never remember."

Norma has a good mind. She has an intelligence level of sixteen years, which would fit her into the *B* group on the army scale. This is intelligence sufficient for college. She was doing excellent work in the first year of high school when her health broke. While with us, at times when she has been feeling well, she has done excellent work. At the Bureau she did complicated clerical work. She never had to be shown but once. At the University Hospital she helped wait on patients, and the

nurse in charge of the ward told me that Norma was as useful as any nurse on duty.

On the other hand, Polly—even the fifteen-year-old Polly—was useless. She sat aimlessly talking or scribbling with a pencil. She would write series of numbers, or lists of names: one hundred boys' names; one hundred girls' names; the names of all her family with their ages. She would do this over and over again. Sometimes she would draw crude figures. She was fond of writing in cipher, using the code given in the Binet Scale, which she could write as fast as her hand could move. Norma could not write it nearly so fast and made some mistakes. (See illustration of code page 7.)

During her first day with us she changed personality eleven times, being Norma five times and Polly six times. The changes occurred as follows: Norma 1 hr. 50 min., sleep 1 hr.; Polly 50 min., sleep 20 min.; Norma 3 hrs. 35 min., sleep 50 min.; Polly 35 min., sleep 35 min.; Norma 45 min., sleep 15 min.; Polly 50 min., sleep 10 min.; Norma 55 min., sleep 5 min.; Polly 1 hr. 35 min., sleep 5 min.; Norma 45 min., sleep 1 hr. 30 min.; Polly 18 minutes.

The transition from one personality to the other has always been by way of a period of sleep, with four exceptions. During this early period it was a very restless sleep. Later the restlessness passed off.

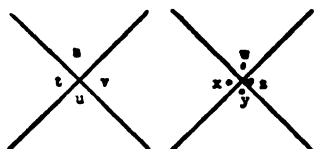
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The procedure of her first transition is typical. After about an hour, Polly suddenly dropped as though dead or in a faint; her pulse and breathing remained normal, and she slept quietly. In a few minutes she became restless, evidently dream-

a	d	g
b	e	h
c	f	i

j	m	p
k	n	q
l	o	r



A cipher or code (said to have been used in the Civil War) of which the above is the key, is used in the Binet Tests. Both Norma and Polly had met it there. Both remembered it.

The following samples of their work with it are characteristic of the two personalities.

The first is Norma's. Carefully written with one error.

The second is Polly's. Written in approximately half the time of Norma's—a part of a whole page written as fast as her fingers could make the marks—but with two errors in sign (J. for a) and one mis-spelling—the insertion of h in "fifteen." Also Polly signed her name. Polly always signed her name. She was very proud of Polly.

Г 7 W □ Г □ 7 0 0 0 1 0 7 F V

ГД У) ПГПЗ [000] ЛД
ГПЗЗ А

ing, and started to get out of bed, still asleep. When held and pushed back into bed she struggled violently, requiring two people to hold her. This violent struggling lasted for two or three minutes, then again she collapsed and lay as one sound asleep. After a few minutes she awoke, rubbed her eyes, looked around and said politely, "How do you do?" She was Norma again.

The next morning (Saturday, *September 24*) she awoke at 7:30 as Polly; slept from 8:05 to 10:40 and awoke as Norma. In the afternoon I made a "professional" call on her. She understood that I was the one to whom she had come for treatment and that I was to talk with her about herself. She answered my questions intelligently and frankly. She gave me an epitome of her illness and her early life.

At 4:30 she asked if she might get up and walk in the hall a little. She was told she might and we were sending for the nurse to come and help her dress when she fell back on the pillow. She awoke in ten minutes as Polly. It was exactly six days before she again awakened as Norma.

Sunday, *September 25*, saw the four year old Polly in all her glory, though she was a good Polly. She had a baby form of speech, using "her" for she and you. "Can her do that?" She was as ungrammatical as an untaught child. She could not read, write or spell. She knew no letters,

and had the same wrong names for the colors.

I had determined to try the method of automatic writing when she herself paved the way. Mr. Rauch, who has assisted me in the study of the case, had taught her the title of a magazine from a copy that was in the room. He was teaching her some of the letters when she spied a pencil in my pocket. She grabbed it—as Polly always did—and imperiously demanded in a loud voice, “Give me some paper. I want to draw.” Here was the opportunity for my experiment in automatic writing. Mr. Rauch wrote out the alphabet for her. She copied it. Then, standing behind her, I said quietly, “Write a letter to June.” (June was Polly’s name for Mr. Rauch.) She at once wrote the accompanying letter. (See opposite page 19.) The omissions and errors are characteristic symptoms of her highly nervous condition even when she is at her best.

After this she wrote the names of all her family. Up to this time she had not known that she had any sisters except the youngest, who was four years old. As she paused in her writing, some one asked her a color. She gave it correctly, and we found that she now knew them all.

We then asked her how old she was. She replied, “Fifteen.” She tested fifteen in intelligence. (As a four-year-old she tested a little under four on the Binet-Simon scale, and as Norma she tested

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sixteen.) Thinking that possibly if she became nineteen, the two personalities would merge, we set to work to get her up to nineteen years of age. At first she persistently refused to be nineteen. So we contented ourselves with saying, "You are fifteen and a half; to-morrow you will be sixteen." This she accepted, and on the morrow called herself sixteen.

We were planning to proceed in this way, step by step, when she again surprised us. On Wednesday, *September 28*, she was writing the names of her brothers and sisters, father and mother, with their respective ages. At this time she was calling herself sixteen years old. When she came to her brother, she put him down as sixteen, and at once commented that if he were sixteen, she could not be. She then added, "They tell me I am nineteen. so I suppose I must be." When she got down in the list to Eleanor, she said that was her twin sister, and she would be nineteen, so that settled it; she, Polly, must also be nineteen. After that it seemed pretty well fixed in her mind. There was, however, no change in her personality. Later it was a matter of indifference whether she was fifteen or nineteen, and a few times she lapsed to four years for short intervals.

Although calling herself nineteen or sixteen, as the case might be, she was still a long way from Norma. The change from four-year Polly was

mostly in "education." She knew more. She was also more reasonable and somewhat quieter.

The fifteen-year-old Polly had all the impudence of the younger Polly but more experience and more intelligence. For instance, one day she was visited by a prominent woman from Columbus, who was anxious to see this case of dual personality. I introduced this lady as Mrs. Black, to which Polly replied promptly, "No, that's Josephine." Apparently impressed by the fine costume the lady was wearing, she then said, "Where did you get that dress?"

"Do you like this dress?"

"Yes, how much did it cost?"

"Oh, it cost plenty."

"Let me see your stockings. Oh, look at the shoes with buckles on them. Turn around, let me see your hair in the back. Oh, you got paint on your face."

Those who think dual personality is a conscious trick will no doubt find it hard to reconcile the above incident with the quiet, polite, almost diffident temperament of Norma. The lady evidently enjoyed the joke, for she sent Polly a two-pound box of candy.

During these six days when she was Polly she might fall asleep as she did on the first day she was with us—only now she always woke in the Polly personality.

Her going to sleep during the day usually was literally a fall. If she were standing she would fall to the floor as though suddenly struck dead. If she were sitting up in bed she would fall over and if she were lying down there was the same sudden relaxation which generally showed by a quick drop of the head or of the arms. Then she would sleep perhaps for a few minutes very quietly, although usually with a constant twitching of the fingers and mouth. After a little she would roll or toss and sooner or later throw herself out of bed unless prevented. Sometimes she would cry out, uttering various expressions that seemed to indicate a very disagreeable dream; sometimes she would sit up and start to get up on her feet in bed. When forced back into bed she would struggle and fight, sometimes even biting and scratching until her strength seemed exhausted, then she would fall back limp and unconscious. At other times she would lie with her eyes wide open but see nothing; sometimes she would talk but would pay no attention to what was said to her; or again she might respond in a way that would seem as though she were wide awake. As an illustration of some of these features we give the following taken from our records showing her behavior for 2½ hours, one week after her arrival:

P. M.

12:55 Asleep.

1:00 Moved limbs, breathed deeply.

1:03 Rolled on back, then on side; said "no."

1:05 "I don't want to" straightened limbs, hand.

1:06 Rolled to left side almost out of bed, mumbled.

1:07 Rolled on back; mumbled, "I don't want to."

1:10 "Ain't going to do it." Threw arms about (on back).

1:15 Pulse 92.

1:17 Moved limbs, groaned.

1:19 Rolled to left side.

1:19½ Jumped; groaned.

1:20 Stretched and relaxed naturally.

1:22½ Stretched; rolled on back.

1:24 Rolled on left side.

1:25 Struggled; said, "No, I ain't going to, I ain't." Opened eyes.

1:25-26 Talked; said, "I'm going to tell her."

1:27 Apparently awake, not natural. Got pencil and marked on paper. Said, "Look what I got." Laughed. Did not resist when pencil was removed. Talked incoherently then lay still with eyes open till 1:32.

1:32 Rolled on back and said, "Ain't going to"; Did not"; "Did too," several times. Eyes open.

1:34 Rolled clear over on her face and went to sleep.

1:41 Rolled, struggled, said, "No, ain't going to. I ain't" (on back).

1:43 Struggled; groaned.

1:45 Kicked, threw arms, then slept soundly.

1:50 Brows lowered and raised, arms twitched.

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1:52 Eyelids began to move, parted and closed, body twitched.

1:53 Eyelids jerked, mouth partly opened.

1:54 Arms jerked.

1:55 Limbs jerked.

1:57 Puckered lips as though whistling.

1:58 Rolled on right side. Drew deep breath. Slept soundly.

2:29 Awoke.

When in the Polly state, she was always insensible to pain. This was one of her most striking peculiarities. Moreover, she was entirely unconscious of it. She never said, "I cannot feel that." One day she dug a pin into her wrist until the blood came; when asked what she was doing she replied, "Boring for oil."

No amount of tickling or pinching or other stimulation produced even a reflex twitching of the muscles. On one occasion she had a pencil which I did not wish her to keep but which she clutched so tightly that it was hard to get it away from her. I placed a paper over her hand, so that she could not see, then pulled the pencil out of her fingers without any knowledge on her part of what was happening, although she still clutched it quite strongly. If she were sitting up in bed, one could come up from behind and pull her back by the shoulders without her realization that she was being disturbed until she reached a point where she

could not see what she was looking at. If some one reached over her forehead from behind and closed the eyelids with the fingers, she would merely say, "Oh, I can't see; what is the matter?" She never once put her hands up to see what was in front of her eyes or seemed to suspect that it was anything external to herself.

Frequently when I wished her to go to sleep and she refused, I would close her eyes in this manner and then tell her that I would restore her sight if she would promise to go to sleep. She would promise and when I removed my fingers from the lids would be overjoyed at being able to see again; she always kept her promise by lying down quietly, and would soon be asleep. One day the physician thrust a sterilized needle under the finger nail, half-way to the roots of the nail, without the slightest flinching on her part. Later, when she awoke as Norma, she said her finger hurt her and wondered what the matter was.

On one or two occasions there was complete anesthesia of the legs to such an extent that she had no control of them and apparently did not realize that she had any such organs. She was sitting on the floor and though intensely desirous of obtaining a certain object a few feet distant, made no effort to crawl to it; merely sat still and reached. She made no complaint that she could not move. When helped up, she could not stand.

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Precisely the same condition prevailed at other times with eyes and ears; she heard nothing or she saw nothing, but made no comment. At one time she had a short period of seeing double. She spilled her medicine and broke a glass as a result of mistaking the images. These peculiar periods usually lasted only a few minutes, probably never more than a half hour, while the general anesthesia lasted all the time she was Polly. In spite of this completely anesthetic condition, she might fall asleep and wake up in a minute as Norma with all her normal sensations.

On the second day after her arrival, I explained to Norma about hypnotism and told her that it would probably be useful in helping to restore her to health. She readily consented to its use and I at once tried it. She proved to be an excellent subject. To Polly, I only explained that if I put her to sleep it would help her to get well. I never called it hypnotism to her.

Our medical consultant advised hypnotizing Polly and waking her up as Norma, thus keeping Norma with us as much as possible. We did this, but at first the success was only partial, for three reasons: First, Polly never wanted to "go to sleep" any more than any child wants to go to bed when not sleepy. She used to say she was "afraid she would miss something." It often took a long time to persuade her. Second, when put to sleep

she sometimes went into deep sleep instead of into the hypnotic condition. Then there was nothing to do except wait until she woke up. Generally, she woke as Polly. Third, when wakened from hypnosis as Norma, she would fall asleep in a short time and wake as Polly. We had very little of Norma for the first month.

The Polly character had persisted for exactly six days when on Friday, *September 30*, at about 6:40 she awoke in her normal condition. Shortly before this I had put Polly to sleep (hypnotic) and wakened her as Norma, but she soon fell asleep again and slept for some minutes; then, partially awake but without full consciousness, rambled a little in conversation, looked about and was somewhat active but again went sound asleep. A few minutes later, at 6:40, she waked definitely in her normal condition.

Soon after waking she put her hand to her head, and felt her hair. With a puzzled expression on her countenance she said, "What is that?" She was told that the girls had put her hair up in the form in which she found it. She next noticed a ring on her finger and wanted to know about that. I told her that Polly had asked for it, seeing it on Miss R——'s finger and Miss R—— had given it to her. She said, "Oh, that Polly, she does queer things." Later she remarked that she would like to see Polly.

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I asked her if she remembered what she was talking about when she went to sleep, and she said, "Yes, we were talking about going for a walk." This evidently referred to the time when she fell asleep the previous Saturday afternoon at 4:30—six days before. After a while she asked if she might get up and walk around. She put on her shoes and walked out into the hall. She had asked about her nurse, and we had explained to her that Polly had quarreled with the nurse, so when we passed the nurse's door I asked Norma if she would like to speak to her. As she entered she said, "They tell me that I have been rude to you. Well, you must forgive me." We then went to the room where the girls were and sat at the table. Norma joined in the games, taking her part naturally and normally, being very quiet and pleasant. She spoke only when she was spoken to, but always politely. At 7:30 I asked her if she wished to go back to her room and rest; she replied that she was not tired. Knowing that the children would go to bed in a few minutes, I allowed her to stay a little longer. Ten minutes later, at twenty minutes before eight, she fell over, sound asleep. We took her to her room, and after sleeping for ten or fifteen minutes, she waked as Polly.

On Saturday, *October 1*, she was in the Polly state all day except for a few minutes when I put her to sleep and wakened her as Norma. The first

time, just before lunch, she went into the somnambulistic state, while I was talking to her in hypnosis, and before I wakened her, then she awoke still Polly. After lunch I again put her to sleep and wakened her as Norma. She was her natural self, but very sleepy. She had taken a nitroglycerine tablet, prescribed by Dr. Sharp, and it had produced a little headache. I asked her if she felt well and she said her head ached, and that she was very sleepy. I asked her if I should put her to sleep and cure the headache and without waiting for her answer I did so. She again soon went into a somnambulistic state and I could not waken her; a little later when she awoke, she was still Polly.

Miss R—— reported next morning that Polly had slept very well and quietly. All day she had been unusually boisterous and wilful, and whereas, up to that time, I had always been able to direct her and get her to accede to our wishes with little difficulty, on that day it was almost impossible to control her.

Sunday, *October 2*, she was still in the Polly state and rather wild and boisterous. I put her to sleep for a few minutes about 11:40 and wakened her in the normal state, but very sleepy. We asked her if she wanted to get up and have her dinner but she was hardly awake enough to appreciate what we said, and very quickly fell asleep again, to wake up as Polly. Then she wanted to go to din-

ner. I told her that she could not go downstairs; this disappointed her very much, and she used every possible device to gain her end. She promised and threatened and argued. At last she promised that if I would let her go to-day, she would not ask again to go downstairs for her meals. Then quickly realizing what she had said, she corrected herself, saying, "No, that is too much": she was binding herself to more than she intended. She also said that if I did not let her go she would not be good any more, but would "act like the devil"; to which I replied that that might be interesting, I thought we would try it and see how the devil acted. She at once turned to Miss E—— and said on the side, "I didn't think it would work that way."

I decided that I would let her go down to dinner and test her memory of her promise that she would not ask to go again. We accordingly went down to dinner together, after she had promised to be good and keep quiet, and not do the things she had done the day before. First part of the meal she was fairly quiet, but toward the end a little boisterous, though not as much so as on the previous day. When Mrs. G—— came in Polly was greatly attracted to her and as we left the table she came upstairs with her and was quite willing to show Mrs. G—— how she could go to sleep (hypnosis). She went to sleep a little more easily than usual;

that is, she did not talk so long or make as much opposition. I wakened her as Norma, and she was in her normal state for about fifteen minutes. She was introduced to Mrs. G—— whom she, as Norma, had never met; she was introduced also to a gentleman who was present. She talked about Polly and we told her some of the things she had done as Polly in the meantime. She did not seem to be thoroughly wide awake, and I felt that she would fall asleep again soon. This, however, did not take place for about fifteen minutes; then she fell asleep and slept very quietly with the exception of one or two slightly convulsive stretchings.

Here a new phenomenon occurred. She opened her eyes but *did not wake up*. She played with the ring on her finger and appeared to be awake, but when spoken to did not reply and was evidently still asleep. She then became quiet and after a while awoke as Polly.

Monday, *October 3*. Very restless and excited Polly all day. Could not persuade her to go to sleep.

Tuesday, *October 4*. A little better than yesterday, but nothing done.

Wednesday evening, *October 5*. About six o'clock, I put her under hypnosis and wakened her as Norma, in which state she remained about fifteen minutes, and then fell asleep. She slept qui-

etly for only a few minutes, then became very restless, and had some of the mild sleep convulsions; she was in that condition when I left. She was walking in her sleep all night long; did not get quiet until about six o'clock in the morning. Since neither Norma nor Polly had any recollection of this, it was evidently pure somnambulism, and not another personality.

CHAPTER II

TWO SOULS—ONE BODY?

Can two souls live in one body? Had you been reading the daily paper in the early days of December, 1921, you might have been confronted with the headlines: "Young Woman Is in Turn Girl of 19 and Baby of 4"; "Columbus Scientist Is Killing Baby so Girl Can Inhabit Body Alone in Strange Case of Double Personality"; "Polly R., 4 Years Old and Norma R., 19, Are Not Related. They Were Total Strangers Until a Few Weeks Ago but They Have Had One Very Important Thing in Common. They Both Have Been Inhabiting the Same Human Body"; "Stranger than Fiction, Actually Uncanny, Is this Case of Distinct Dual Personality."

Again, the latter part of January, you might have read: "Duel of Dual Personality Kills Polly R. and Cures Girl of Obsession in the Famous Case." Nearly two years later, you could have read; "How Satan at Last Won the Soul of the Good-bad Girl. How Science, Religion and Humanity Have Abandoned Seraphic Norma to Her Weird Twin Self, the Demoniactal Polly."

The last statement was not true, but it made a good newspaper story and probably did nobody any harm. That the case aroused a great deal of human interest and sympathy was evident from the fact that we received hundreds of letters from all over the country expressing sympathy, and offering suggestions as to the cause, treatment, and cure of the unusual condition. Since the publication of the last statement, the readers seem to have said, "That is that," and the subject has been dropped. Nevertheless, Norma is alive and well to-day and Polly has gone.

Because such cases touch human interest at so many points and throw light upon so many problems that human beings have to face sooner or later, it seems that the history and explanation should not be withheld. Norma herself agrees to this and consents to have the story told, although the publicity is naturally not pleasing. Yet the opportunity to extend the knowledge of the facts in such cases and the hope of saving others from a similar experience makes her quite willing to have this story told. The only reservation we shall make is of some names and places. Her name is not really Norma, but we shall call her that, as it makes no difference to the reader and relieves her of a little of the unpleasant notoriety.

The idea of two persons inhabiting one body is quite familiar to many people through Robert

Louis Stevenson's widely read story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. It is probable, however, that most readers of that story regard it as entirely a product of the creative imagination of Stevenson, little thinking that such things have ever occurred in real life. It has been taken as typifying the two natures in man; many a sermon has been preached with that for a text, and we have been warned against allowing our baser impulses to get control of us and ruin our lives as Mr. Hyde ruined the life of Dr. Jekyll. But, strange as it may seem, and "uncanny," as one writer says, such cases do happen and a very few of them have been recorded and can be read by those who have access to the literature.

Probably the best known case, because the most modern and the most fully described, is that of Miss Beauchamp, whose story has been written by Dr. Morton Prince. The principal other personality in this case was called Sally. We say the principal other personality because there were several minor manifestations in that case. Indeed, it was found out eventually that the Miss Beauchamp with whom the account starts was herself not the true personality and the real individual only came back after nearly six years of study and work on the part of Dr. Prince. In our case also, as we shall see later, there were other minor personalities.

Another case of considerable interest was studied by Professor James; it is known as the Ansel Bourne case. The following is James' account.

“The Rev. Ansel Bourne, of Greene, R. I., was brought up to the trade of a carpenter; but, in consequence of a sudden temporary loss of sight and hearing under very peculiar circumstances, he became converted from Atheism to Christianity just before his thirtieth year, and has since that time for the most part lived the life of an itinerant preacher. He has been subject to headaches and temporary fits of depression of spirits during most of his life, and has had a few fits of unconsciousness lasting an hour or less. He also has a region of somewhat diminished cutaneous sensibility on the left thigh. Otherwise his health is good, and his muscular strength and endurance excellent. He is of a firm and self-reliant disposition, a man whose yea is yea and his nay, nay; and his character for uprightness is such in the community that no person who knows him will for a moment admit the possibility of his case not being perfectly genuine.

“On January 17, 1887, he drew five hundred fifty-one dollars from a bank in Providence with which to pay for a certain lot of land in Greene, paid certain bills, and got into a Pawtucket horse-car. This is the last incident which he remembers. He did not return home that day, and nothing was heard of him for two months. He was

published in the papers as missing, and foul play being suspected, the police sought in vain for his whereabouts. On the morning of March 14, however, at Norristown, Pennsylvania, a man calling himself A. J. Brown, who had rented a small shop six weeks previously, stocked it with stationery, confectionery, fruit and small articles, and carried on his quiet trade without seeming to any one unnatural or eccentric, woke up in a fright and called in the people of the house to tell him where he was. He said that his name was Ansel Bourne, that he was entirely ignorant of Norristown, that he knew nothing of shop-keeping, and that the last thing he remembered—it seemed only yesterday—was drawing the money from the bank, etc., in Providence. He would not believe that two months had elapsed. The people of the house thought him insane; and so, at first, did Dr. Louis H. Read, whom they called in to see him. But on telegraphing to Providence, confirmatory messages came, and presently his nephew, Mr. Andrew Harris, arrived upon the scene, made everything straight, and took him home. He was very weak, having lost apparently over twenty pounds of flesh during his escapade, and had such a horror of the idea of the candy-store that he refused to set foot in it again.

“The first two weeks of the period remained unaccounted for, as he had no memory, after he had once resumed his normal personality, of any part of the time, and no one who knew him seems

to have seen him after he left home. The remarkable part of the change is, of course, the peculiar occupation which the so-called Brown indulged in. Mr. Bourne has never in his life had the slightest contact with trade. 'Brown' was described by the neighbors as taciturn, orderly in his habits, and in no way queer. He went to Philadelphia several times; replenished his stock; cooked for himself in the back shop, where he also slept; went regularly to church; and once at a prayer meeting made what was considered by the hearers a good address, in the course of which he related an incident which he had witnessed in his natural state of Bourne.

"This was all that was known of the case up to June, 1890, when I induced Mr. Bourne to submit to hypnotism, so as to see whether, in the hypnotic trance, his 'Brown' memory would not come back. It did so with surprising readiness; so much so indeed that it proved quite impossible to make him whilst in the hypnosis remember any of the facts of his normal life. He had heard of Ansel Bourne, but 'didn't know as he had ever met the man.' When confronted with Mrs. Bourne he said that he had 'never seen the woman before' etc. On the other hand, he told of his peregrinations during the lost fortnight,¹ and gave all sorts of details

¹ "He had spent an afternoon in Boston, a night in New York, and an afternoon in Newark, and ten days or more in Philadelphia, first in a certain hotel and next in a certain boarding-house, making no acquaintances, 'resting,' reading, and 'looking around.' I have unfortunately been unable to get independent corroboration

about the Norristown episode. The whole thing was prosaic enough: and the Brown-personality seems to be nothing but a rather shrunken, dejected, and amnesic extract of Mr. Bourne himself. He gives no motive for the wandering except that there was 'trouble back there' and he 'wanted rest.' During the trance he looks old, the corners of his mouth are drawn down, his voice is slow and weak, and he sits screening his eyes and trying vainly to remember what lay before and after the two months of the Brown experience. 'I'm all hedged in,' he says. 'I can't get out at either end. I don't know what set me down in that Pawtucket horse-car, and I don't know how I ever left that store, or what became of it.' His eyes are practically normal, and all his sensibilities (save for tardier response) about the same in hypnosis as in waking. I had hoped by suggestion, etc., to run the two personalities into one, and make the memories continuous, but no artifice would avail to accomplish this, and Mr. Bourne's skull to-day still covers two distinct personal selves.

"The case (whether it contains an epileptic element or not) should apparently be classed as one of spontaneous hypnotic trance, persisting for two months. The peculiarity of it is that nothing else like it ever occurred in the man's life, and that no eccentricity of character came out. In most

of these details, as the hotel registers are destroyed, and the boarding-house named by him has been pulled down. He forgets the name of the two ladies who kept it.

30 TWO SOULS IN ONE BODY?

similar cases, the attacks recur, and the sensibilities and conduct markedly change.”¹

This belongs to a type of case that is slightly different from ours, which is known in the medical profession as a fugue, because the subject who has an attack of this kind always has an impulse to flee, to go away somewhere.

Dr. Earl Gaver of Columbus records a case of a man who traveled considerably over the world, at one time waking up and finding himself working in the diamond mines of South Africa.

A still different case and one that does not seem quite so uncanny because there seems to be a recognized cause for the condition is that of Rev. Mr. Hanna, as described by Dr. Boris Sidis and Mr. Goodhart.²

A case widely advertised in its day was the Watseka Wonder, in 1887. Lurancy was the name of a fourteen-year-old girl at Watseka, Ill. She had suffered from various hysterical attacks and finally declared that she was Mary Roff, a daughter of neighbors who had died twelve years before. Lurancy lived with the Roffs as their daughter

¹ The details of the case, it will be seen, are all *compatible* with simulation. I can only say that no one who has examined Mr. Bourne (including Dr. Read, Dr. Weir Mitchell, Dr. Guy Hinsdale, and Mr. R. Hodgson) practically doubts his ingrained honesty, nor, so far as I can discover, do any of his personal acquaintances indulge in a sceptical view.

² For this and other cases see Appendix A.

for fourteen weeks, then she woke up as her normal self and went back to her own home.

Janet is authority for the statement that probably not more than twenty-five or thirty of these cases have been described and most of these are rather brief. This shows that the condition is not unknown but that Norma's case is one of a very few. These cases all differ greatly in details, although agreeing very closely in certain features. The reader has perhaps not yet recovered from his doubt of the truth of any such story as this. It is not surprising that some people find it easier to believe that the observers are either lying or are themselves deceived than it is to believe that such things happen. The simplest explanation for most people and one that they will readily accept is that these people are acting, that they are playing a game, that they are consciously deceiving their friends for a purpose. We shall see later why this is not a plausible theory in Norma's case.

Meantime it should be noted that all of the cases that have ever been studied have been observed by men who are keen at detecting deception; who have undoubtedly been on their guard in watching for anything that would indicate an attempt at malin-gering. Yet not one of them has ever suggested trickery as an explanation of the conditions. For example, Professor James' testimony in the Ansel

Bourne case is very definite. He says "He is of a firm and self-reliant disposition, a man whose yea means yea and his nay, nay; and his character for uprightness is such in the community that no person who knows him will for a moment admit the possibility of this case not being perfectly genuine." We can say the same of Norma—no one who knows her has ever suggested that she was playing any tricks on us. But stronger than all these arguments is the fact that her conduct was thoroughly incompatible with any such theory. This will appear as we narrate her story.

CHAPTER III

A SURPRISE

The reader may think that by this time we should not have been surprised at anything with the Polly-Norma personality, but, as we shall see, her capacity for surprising us was far from being exhausted. There were no indications that Thursday, *October 6*, would be different from the days that had passed. She had been with us two weeks, most of the time in the Polly personality. This day also she was completely in the Polly state, but was very quiet.

In the afternoon Dr. Gaver visited her. After conversing with her and observing her for some time, he requested that I put her under hypnosis and waken her as Norma. This was done very quickly and successfully. She woke perfectly normal and remained so for forty minutes, then she fell over in profound sleep. This sleep lasted for five minutes and she waked as Polly. There was nothing new in all this. Similar things had been happening. But about seven o'clock in the evening, the surprising thing came.

With the memory of the previous evening in mind and the desire to avoid a recurrence, Mr.

Rauch and two or three others were spending the evening with Polly, entertaining her quietly in the hope that she would fall asleep naturally for the night. They had been singing popular songs in which Polly had joined. She was knitting. About half past seven Mr. Rauch, who had been singing a couple of songs in which Polly did not join, noticed that she did not join when he returned to familiar songs. He glanced at her face and immediately detected what we knew as a "Norma expression." It was nearly always possible for any one who knew her to tell by the expression of her countenance whether he was looking at Norma or Polly. Seeing this expression of countenance, Mr. Rauch said, "I believe you are Norma." She did not answer him but gave a real Norma smile. He then put her to the test which we always used and asked her name. She replied, "Norma." She had changed from the Polly personality to Norma without passing into a state of sleep.

Mr. Rauch immediately telephoned to me. When I arrived, I found her still in the Norma state. She could give little account of herself. She spoke of a peculiar sensation in her head but could not describe what had happened. Questioning elicited the further peculiarity that she was not only Norma, but what was entirely new, she had a complete memory of Polly. Not only that, but she was able to recall the suggestions that Dr. Gaver had

Robinson Crusoe - Sept 24
6:45 PM



Drawn by Polly, Sept. 24th

given her in the afternoon while she was in hypnosis. So far as we could discover she could account for all experiences. She remembered the four year old Polly state as well as the more recent fifteen year old, also many things that had happened before she came to us. She expressed sincere regret for the things she had said and done during these abnormal mental states, saying that she would have to apologize to everyone in the institution for things she had said. We were considerably elated at this experience and naturally hoped that the memory, which had so completely returned, would be permanent and that thereafter we would have a normal individual.

We feared to exhaust her with too many questions, and at 10:30 we asked her to turn over and go to sleep, which she did rather promptly. It seemed to us that her going to sleep was a little more normal than usual, though possibly this thought was born of our great desire that she should be normal.

After she had gone to sleep we continued to discuss the situation. There was no doubt about the accuracy of her memory, for we had tested her thoroughly. For example, Polly had been in the Laboratory Building, had visited several of the rooms, and seen us at work. Norma, up to that time, had never been out of the building in which her own room was located but she had described

accurately this other building including my office and other rooms. All the evening she had talked about her experiences like one who had returned from a foreign country. However, our hope that the two personalities had merged and that part of the problem was solved was not destined to be realized. It is interesting to note that although later Norma lapsed into the Polly stage without going to sleep, this was the only time that the transition was made from Polly to Norma.

It was with some excitement that we inquired the next morning as to who had waked up, Norma or Polly. Our disappointment can be imagined when we learned that she had waked at eight o'clock as Polly. She had slept well all night but awoke with no memories save those of the Polly existence. It was not until about eleven o'clock that I was able to induce her to go into hypnotic state, from which I awakened her as Norma; but it was the Norma of former days—she had no recollection of the Polly personality at all. We had adopted the plan of having her take a nap soon after lunch whether she was in the Polly or the Norma stage. We hoped it might be a permanent help toward restoring her to normal health. On this day, when she went to take her nap, I gave her the strong suggestion that she should sleep for one hour and awake as Norma. She slept the hour as suggested, but she awoke as Polly. I tried at once

to induce her to let me put her in hypnotic sleep, but she stoutly resisted. She had had her nap and there were many things that she wanted to do. Being very anxious to have her in the Norma condition as much as possible, I persisted in my efforts to overcome her objections and get her into the hypnotic state. I finally succeeded but the result was entirely unsatisfactory. Strangely enough, she did not stop in the dream stage that is necessary for hypnotic suggestion but went at once into a deep sleep beyond all control, where my suggestions had no effect upon her. I could neither wake her up nor make her obey my commands. Her sleep was troubled; she called for her mother and there was considerable struggling. It lasted for about an hour; then she awoke, still as Polly.

Mrs. Goddard had come in the meantime, and I again tried to get Polly to let me put her to sleep, urging her to show Mrs. Goddard how nicely she could obey. She yielded to this fairly easily, for Polly was generally willing to show off. Having put her to sleep, I awakened her this time easily as Norma; but here again, we had a strange anomaly, for while she answered to the name of Norma, it was noticeable that there was much of the Polly character in her behavior. She was not as careful of her language; that is, to speak grammatically. She forgot to say "thank you" and in various other ways showed a somewhat curious

mingling of the Polly character with the Norma.

Whenever we thought we were beginning to understand the case, something was sure to happen that threw us back into a complete state of helplessness. Sometimes we were full of courage and at other times all but discouraged. It is quite easy to look back now and see what was happening and understand what might have been done, but at the time it was a mystery beyond our power to solve. We could not realize that Polly was merely an episode in the life of Norma. Polly was to us a real person—a very disagreeable person, usually; very mischievous and troublesome, requiring constant watching and attention, but nevertheless a real person. When I speak of her as a disagreeable person, I am speaking from the standpoint of her comparison with Norma; in reality there was much that was attractive about Polly and sometimes it gave one a queer feeling to realize that we were trying to destroy Polly and bring back Norma. This feeling was especially vivid when Polly would attempt to bargain, as she frequently did, saying, “If I go to sleep now, may I go down stairs to dinner?” or “May I go to the movie this evening?” or something else that Polly very much wanted and which we frequently did not want her to have. It gave one a queer feeling to say, “Yes, if you will go to sleep now, you may go to the movie to-night” when I was really hoping that if

she went to sleep now, she, as Polly, would never wake up.

Was I trying to annihilate a human soul? We shall see.

If we had been somewhat discouraged over this day's proceedings, the next day was doubly encouraging by contrast. She awoke as Norma and remained so throughout most of the day. She was rather tired in the forenoon and did not get up but she dressed for lunch and ate with the rest of us. About the middle of the afternoon she came to the laboratory and was interested in visiting the various rooms and talking with the workers. She took a walk with the cottage girls. Later, as I was talking to her, she seemed to transform to the Polly condition. At first I thought she had fallen asleep and was talking in her sleep but I soon satisfied myself that she was thoroughly awake as Polly. However, this did not last long for she soon fell asleep and a few minutes later awoke as Norma. She had her supper with the rest but after supper she fell asleep and waked as Polly, four years old, and wanted her supper, which as Norma she had already eaten.

I have spoken several times and shall continue to speak of putting Polly into hypnotic sleep. Some of my readers may not understand this and in all probability, some will have an erroneous idea. That all may understand our problem and the

methods of handling it, with the consequences to be expected, it is necessary to digress a little and explain this much misunderstood phenomenon.

Hypnotism is frequently called mesmerism, a name which it gets from Anton Mesmer, a Frenchman to whom we are indebted not only for the name, but for a great many false notions about it as well as the bad repute that it has with many people. When stripped of the false notions that have grown up around it, hypnotism is a very simple and perfectly natural process. There is no mysterious power and no control of one mind by another, more than can be seen every day in the ordinary relationships of men. The child who has been properly brought up does what his parents tell him to do and believes what his parents tell him. We say he is obedient. In many a family, the wife does everything that the husband suggests. Sometimes it is the husband who does whatever the wife suggests. We think we understand the circumstances; at least they are not attributed to any mystical power that is possessed by one member. The child obeys the parent because he has faith in him and trusts him and believes him.

In hypnotism a person goes to sleep and dreams. The difference between this and an ordinary dream is that he goes to sleep because the hypnotizer tells him to and he dreams what the hypnotizer tells him to dream. From these facts two

things follow. First, a person does not go to sleep unless he is willing to go to sleep. The only difficulty in putting Polly to sleep was in getting her consent to go to sleep. The reader will have noticed that I repeatedly use the expression "I persuaded Polly to let me put her to sleep." As long as she insisted on staying awake, because, as she said, she was "afraid she would miss something," I had no power of putting her to sleep; but whenever she would consent to go to sleep at my suggestion, she would get into that degree of sleep where dreams can come, and once in that condition I suggested to her the dreams. Had I suggested to her that she was Madam Homer, she would have dreamed of Madam Homer and would have acted and behaved like her, *if she knew what Madam Homer was like.*

It is interesting to note that whenever I put Polly into hypnotic sleep and asked her name, she invariably replied, "Norma"; asked how old, she gave Norma's age and never Polly's. This is probably due to the fact that the first time I tried hypnotism with her was when she was Norma. I put her to sleep as Norma, talked to her as Norma and woke her up as Norma, so that she started this dream state as Norma and ever after, even when it was Polly whom I put to sleep, it was Norma who had the dream. There was one exception which we shall explain later. The second thing

CHAPTER IV

THEORIES AND SUPERSTITIONS

Polly and Norma have now been sufficiently described so that the reader may easily feel that he is acquainted with each one of them. There are many interesting occurrences, which we shall come back to later, but at the present time it is of interest to consider what some people think is the cause of this condition.

The question used as the title of this book was taken from the newspaper accounts of the case. To the reporters, it seemed to be, as they expressed it, "Two souls struggling for the mastery of one body." One writer said that science was trying to kill Polly in order that Norma might live in peace. On another occasion, the temporary condition was taken as evidence that science had failed and that Polly had won.

It was interesting too, that the reporters fell, apparently rather naturally, into the habit of definitely associating Polly with the devil and when they thought Polly had won out, they surrounded the page with pictures of the devil with his cloven hoofs and pointed tail. According to these gentlemen, it would seem that the antagonism was not

between science and theology but between science and the devil. The view that the secondary personality is the devil is distinctly held by those who consider that a case of this kind is definitely and clearly a case of demon possession.

The reader who thinks that the idea of demon possession is confined to Biblical times or that the belief in it passed out in the Middle Ages will be somewhat surprised to learn that we had several letters from friends who desired to help Polly in her difficulty and who insisted that hers was a case of demon possession. One man sent a pamphlet entitled "A Case of Demoniactal Possession," which described a case that occurred in May, 1842. The foreword says: "In the following narrative the reader is presented with a well authenticated case of diabolical possession occurring in our own times. It is one of many that might be recorded. All of them are marked with features that recall the gospel narrative." This pamphlet not only describes the case but describes how the demon was exorcised and the victim cured.

It has puzzled many to understand how the methods used to exorcise the demon succeeded if there was no demon to be removed. Formerly this was a difficult question to answer, and unanswered it contributed greatly to the perpetuation of the belief in demon possession. To-day the answer is clear. Hysteria, which is the disease that afflicts

such patients, is a condition of extreme suggestibility. Therefore, when the demon is called upon to depart the patient accepts the suggestion and plays the part even to the extent of departing when the situation becomes unpleasant for the "demon" or when sufficient appeal is made to the religious conviction of the normal person to enable him to retain his normal mental attitude. The method does not succeed with patients in whom a real religious attitude does not exist or cannot be developed. Such cases are made worse rather than better by such methods. When the patient's religion can be appealed to, the method is often successful.

But we do not have to go back so far as 1842. Here are some of the letters we received, suggesting possession by evil spirits!

Dear Sir:

Reading about the dual personality, I am deeply interested, as I have heard of ancient happenings somewhat similar. In those cases they would appeal to the evil spirit, which I would call that of Polly. Scorn her and tell her she does not belong here. If you get some Priest or Holy Person to do that it may help. An appeal to Norma is of no avail, as she is helpless.

Hoping you will succeed as I'm deeply interested.

(No signature)

San Francisco

Dear Sir :

Reading articles concerning the 19 year old Girl of the Dual Personality. called Polly. I have had broad experience along that line. it is a clear case of obsesion or posesion of the one Spirit taken charge or controle of the other Boddie.¹ I have made a thurle studee of such cases as hers and have cured many. . . . in first place I say to you I have made a studee of Spiritualism & Hypotism and good many others ismes including Christan Scienses & olcallismes (occultisms?) for 45 years.

Now thers only one shure way for you to get that Personality of Polly to leave Norma. witch is her realself. is to talk to Polly as if she was right thire in Person and she realey is thire only use another bodie. tell her she must go away and find some more little Girls to play with. that Norma is to old for her. that she is dead now. have pass thro what is called death. and by her staying hear with Norma she missing lots good time. and besides it is keeping Norma from studing and besides is making her nervus and sick etc. . . .

(signed) Mrs. —

¹ We have retained the spelling, punctuation and capitalization of these letters, because in dealing with these "occult" theories one does not know the significance of all the expressions, and the meaning might be unwarrantably changed by removing a capital; e. g., "Boddie" may not be the exact equivalent of body!

Phoenix, Ariz.

Dear Dr.

I am sending to your address a tract on the three races.

Perhaps it will explain to you where Norma got the three personalities. The Lord cast out the evil spirits by word of mouth. Nothing but a knowledge of the truth is knowledge if it is not truth it is nothing.

Yours respt.

(signed) Mr. —

Here is a Jewish suggestion.

New York

Gentlemen:

In looking over the N. Y. evening Journal and the Bronx Home News, I noticed of the case you called the dual personality. About 15 or 16 years ago I have witnessed a case of such as you mention in the papers. This happened on the eve of Atonement in a Synagogue. While the Rev. was praying for the congregation. The woman had what is known as a dibik in the jewish language, stood with her mouth wide open, and the soul within her began to repeat after the Rev. and then suddenly began to crow like a rooster. When the dibik finally quieted down, the woman was shaking like a leaf and as white as a sheet, and did not realize what was going on. In order to proceed with the

services the woman had to be taken home, much against her wishes and as she walked out she remarked in Jewish, to the children that they should pray for her.

This woman was troubled with this dual personality for a great number of years, and as a matter of fact has been to see every great specialist in the country but nothing would help her. She was finally advised to take a trip abroad to visit a great Jewish Rabbi, and explained her case to him. The Rabbi then proceeded to go into detail on the subject and then had the woman come to the Holy Synagogue, after praying for some time, he suddenly started to talk to the soul within the woman, and ordered the soul to get out through the little finger, upon which request the soul demanded to be given what is known in Hebraic as a holy blessing so as to have a final resting place. But in (the) Jewish the Rabbi is not permitted to do so, and after much praying and arguing with the soul it finally departed from the woman and a crash could be heard when it did so. The woman afterward returned to this country and was never bothered any more; This case happened in the lower east side of New York City. . . . I feel quite confident that with the proper investigation along the same lines that this unfortunate girl can be relieved of the other soul, and returned to her normal self again.

Respectfully,
(signed) Mr. —

The astrologists also offered to help, as this letter testifies:

Kansas City

My dear Norma:—

I have been greatly interested in hearing about your case, about the Norma and Polly that was troubling you at times. I am an Astrologist and analyze personalities by the movements of the stars. And I am making a collection of interesting horoscopes and would dearly love to have yours in my collection. So would you mind telling me the things I would need to know. It is this. The exact time of your birth, the year, the month and the date of the month, and the exact moment of the day or night just as near as you know or can find out. Also the place where you were born—if it were in the country or a very small town, please tell me the nearest larger town or city. And were you born in this country or what country.

Now if you will tell me all this so that I can make the horoscope map of the Stars at birth, you may ask me three questions of the things you would like to know most, and I will try and answer you just as well as I can just what you would like to know most.

Anything interesting about your life or your illness that you care to tell I would be very pleased to hear about, but if you do not feel able to write much, please tell me just about the time and place of birth.

I am sending you an envelope, that is stamped and addressed to me, so it will be less trouble for you to use it in answering.

With very best wishes for your health and happiness, I am,

Sincerely,
(signed) Mrs. —

Needless to say, Norma never saw the above, or any of the letters.

The chiropractor was not forgotten.

New York City

Dear Dr. Goddard:

Having read several accounts of the dual personality of Norma changing from a nineteen year girl to one of four years, and after four months this strange case is still puzzeling so many physicians, psychologists, surgeons, etc. May I suggest your calling in a capable Chiropractor.

Please pardon my taking up your valuable time, but I should like so much to hear of this charming young girl permanent cure, and I firmly believe it can be done through the science of Chiropractic.

Yours very truly
(signed) Mr. —

A chiropractor had been tried before Norma came to us. He found a dislocated vertebra, of course. He would not restore it until an X-ray was

taken, so that he could have proof of his diagnosis. The radiogram was made and no dislocation was found; on the contrary, the X-ray shows everything normal.

One man has an interesting theory which he may have evolved from a somewhat vague understanding of a scientific theory that has been advanced to explain another phenomenon. He thought that at the time of conception there had been twins, and consequently two souls, but that one of the bodies had been absorbed *in utero* and that the soul that was to have inhabited that body, instead of returning whence it came, was striving to get possession of the surviving body. Here is his letter:

Dr. H. H. Goddard:

An article that I clipped from a newspaper some months ago has interested me greatly and given me your address. It was in regard to Norma, the girl with the double personality. I am neither a doctor nor a scientist but I have thought along these lines and I have wondered if she were not one of twins which had absorbed the other. In that case would the soul of the other remain and make itself manifest through the brain. I know of a case (though it is known to only a few) where the woman so absorbed a companion twin. It was taken from her body after she was grown. She was exceedingly sensitive about it, hence only a few

know it. She is at times a most delightfully attractive woman. At other times just the opposite and has been a puzzle to everyone who knows her. This is my own theory. She has a sweet face and it is my opinion the other would have been a disagreeable child and only at times manifests itself. Possibly under certain conditions of the system. Would not this prove there is something binds this clay body. Does not the death of the Siamese twins simultaneously show something of the kind?

I give you these things for thought. I hope you will not think me a crank.

Very truly, (signed) Mr. —

The fact that the twin was actually born and lived for ten years is one of those “nasty little facts that kill a beautiful theory!”

The reader who wishes them will find other letters in Appendix B. The Spiritist, the Christian Scientist and the Phrenologist were all heard from.

We add these letters not because they represent any special cults, but because they show the intense interest of the writers as well as the wild theories that are possible when one does not keep up with the known facts of science. Some of these writers are so refreshingly satisfied with themselves and their theories! (See letter 13. Appendix B.)

These theories all agree in two points. First, the kindliness and good intentions of the writers, and second, their complete ignorance of what science has found out in regard to such cases.

As we have seen, cases like Norma's are *very rare*. None the less, they are purely physical occurrences: as much so as tuberculosis, or drunkenness, or backache. If we need no demons or spirits to explain toothache, we do not need them to explain dual personality.

Not one of the assumptions upon which the writers of the foregoing letters base their theories is true in Norma's case. They are all wild guesses. From the two brains to the demon possession, they are the guesses of people ignorant of the facts. The fact that demon possession has been believed in by many is supposed to give it some respectability; but it does not. Error is no nearer truth because many people believe the error. Every one of the writers of these letters will reject the theories of all the rest—his own theory is the only tenable one; yet his theory is not based on any facts.

One writer (Appendix B) says he has written an article based on "two newspaper accounts" of Norma! The newspaper accounts have been as often false as true. The original signed and syndicated article by C. C. Lyon was accurate as far as it went, but it made no pretense at explanation.

After that many reporters made up their own stories, manufacturing the facts to suit their purposes. The writer of this book made daily and hourly observations of Norma for two years, was familiar with the views of the world's greatest experts in these cases—Charcot, Janet, Prince, Sidis, Freud, Meyer, Southard, to mention a few—yet only after five years' study of the case is he willing to attempt to propose a theory to account for the entire situation. But one letter writer reads "two newspaper articles" and can explain the whole thing. He probably never heard of one of the men mentioned above and certainly has never understood their views even if he has read them.

This is said not with any desire to quarrel with any man's individual view, but merely as a warning to the many people who follow the teachings of such self-appointed leaders. We should not be blind followers of the blind. The more blind one is, the more carefully he should seek an intelligent, seeing guide.

Nor is unkind criticism intended of the many letters offering friendly suggestions. These writers did not claim to have the only solution to the problem. Out of their deep human interest and sympathy, they offered such suggestions as occurred to them. We were pleased, for instance, with the letter of the fifteen year old boy who sug-

gested "two brains" (See Appendix B. p. 230) When he gets to medical school, if not before, he will see the impossibility of his theory. At that time he may be a bit ashamed of his suggestion, but he need not be: it was a good theory for a fifteen year old boy—it would not be a good theory for a thirty year old physician! It is no shame to originate a wild theory; the moronity consists in holding on to it in the face of the contradicting facts. There are many intelligent laymen and there will be more when our educational system teaches students how and where to seek for *facts* instead of relying on traditions and superstitions.

Just as "nature abhors a vacuum," so man abhors an unexplained phenomenon. He must have an explanation and when he knows little or nothing about natural phenomena an explanation is generally easy. When the Indians saw the sun gradually disappearing in broad day they had to explain the phenomenon. It looked as if it were being eaten up, and the idea that a wild beast was eating it was quite satisfactory, since they knew nothing of astronomy and knew no facts that would contradict this explanation. The young man who suggested that two brains were in Norma's head did not know enough about anatomy and physiology to realize that such an explanation was absolutely untenable.

Because of this desire for explanation, thou-

sands of traditions have come down to us as the explanations our ancestors gave to the various phenomena which they could not understand. It is these traditions or superstitions or beliefs which science has to overcome. In this, science has much difficulty, because, curiously enough, the tradition once acquired, the superstition once accepted, a belief once determined becomes almost a part of us, and to give it up is actually, as we sometimes say, "like pulling teeth."—And yet, men want to know the truth; they want to get rid of their superstitions and their unfounded beliefs.

Because we believe that the readers of this book would be glad to understand the true explanation of dual personality, we take the time to go into detail and to explain many things that to the scientist need no explanation. It is not idle curiosity that seeks to understand these cases: it is a desire to acquire useful information; for scientific facts are always useful. In this case, we hope to point out, before we are through, such facts as will enable parents and teachers to protect their children against the occurrence not only of dual personality but of many other mental disturbances of which they are in danger, either in childhood or in adult life.

If one needs an illustration of the evil effects of holding to a superstition, the misery and suffering that may result from attributing to a supernatural

power human conditions due to a perfectly natural cause, he has only to go back a few years to the time when we accepted the superstition that evil spirits were responsible for the sufferings of the insane. It is a sad chapter in the history of human methods that describes our treatment of these poor unfortunates. Many a case that to-day would be taken to a sanitarium or hospital, and cured, was shut in an isolated room in the home and fed like an animal in a cage, until death solved the problem. Or else the patient was taken to a county infirmary where similar treatment was given. And all this, because we had a *wrong theory* about insanity.

To-day, we understand very clearly that it is a disease as much as rheumatism; that in many cases it is perfectly curable and that in others the condition can be more or less alleviated by intelligent medical treatment. And best of all, we know that the condition in many cases is preventable, indeed probably in nearly all cases if people would live normally and if they would take note of the first symptoms and see that those receive prompt treatment.

All of this may be summed up by saying that, like everything else in nature, mental diseases result from definite causes. They do not just happen. They do not come out of the clear sky. They do not happen because the person was born when a cer-

tain constellation was in the ascendant, or because one was "born with a caul," or because the mother during her pregnancy saw a crazy person, or because of any of the other superstitions that were born when man's desire for an explanation of things was strongly active but when he was too ignorant to know the right explanation.

The value of having a correct explanation—of understanding the causes that lead to mental disease—lies in the possibility of prevention. The history of how we have eradicated certain diseases by finding out the causes is familiar to most people. The discovery, for example, that malaria was due to a certain germ, which was carried by a mosquito, led to the extermination of the mosquito and the resulting eradication of the disease.

Now, dual personality is a disease, and as such has a definite cause or causes: therefore, when we understand the causes, we shall be able to prevent the disease. Dual personality is simply an extreme form of major hysteria. Hysteria is a term covering a wide range of manifestations, of which only one is commonly recognized by the non-medical person; that is, the laughing and crying without cause, often spoken of as "school-girl hysteria." That is at one end of the scale and dual personality is at the other.

We cannot, of course, discuss hysteria at this time. Suffice it to say that it is a disease charac-

terized by an exaggerated susceptibility to suggestion. That means, in brief, that the individual believes everything that is told him and accepts as final every thought that comes into his own mind. The hysterical person wakes up in the morning with a suggestion of headache. He says, "Oh dear, I'm sick, I can not get up, I can not do anything, I have a dreadful headache." In other words, he accepts the suggestion and acts upon it and suffers accordingly. The non-hysterical person, under the same circumstances, says, "My head feels a little thick but it will feel better when I am up and have had my bath and my breakfast. I will forget it." And so he does. In other words, he does not accept this suggestion of sickness. He rejects it because he thinks of other things. He is not highly suggestible.

The extent to which wild suggestions are accepted by hysterical persons will hardly be believed by persons who have not seen them and known of them. For example, if one asks a person suffering from rather severe hysteria, "Have you any sensation in your left arm?" she immediately says, "Why, no, I believe I haven't." The physician then tests her with a needle or other sharp-pointed instrument. No, she does not feel it. The needle could be thrust clear through the arm and the patient would have no feeling. This is known as hysterical anesthesia.

It will be noted that these people do no thinking. They merely accept what comes into their minds or what is told them. They cannot think for themselves and consequently can not resist these suggestions. But how does a person get into this situation or condition? This question, also, we can answer, but only briefly and consequently very crudely, because a complete answer would take us too far afield. There are many ways of looking at the problem and consequently many theories.

Some reader who thinks may already have raised the objection that a little child is highly suggestible. Is he therefore hysterical? Well, curiously enough, there are many analogies between the hysterical adult and the little child. In other words, the whole procedure is very childish. Another point of view is from the standpoint of the nervous system, which in most hysterical persons is at a very low degree of energy. We know that when we are fatigued we can not think as promptly and accurately as when we are rested. The hysterical person is, perhaps, in a state of chronic fatigue.

How does one get into a state of chronic fatigue? We may answer: by living a life in which there is more fatigue than rest. That is to say, normally, one gets tired during the day and rests at night so that he completely recovers and starts out the next day as fresh as ever. If one is mathematically

inclined, he can put it in the form of an equation: rest equals fatigue. But if the person has more fatigue than rest, he will get up the second morning not quite as fresh as the first morning. The third morning he will be still more fatigued. Such a procedure begins to affect the nervous system itself, it tears it down, it destroys it in some way, so that perhaps it never afterwards recovers its full normal amount of energy. In such cases we would have the condition that we are describing.

All this will be clearer when we come to apply it to our study of Norma. We shall now return to consider a few more occurrences in the life of Polly and Norma.

CHAPTER V

NORMA-POLLY CONTINUED

Sunday morning, *October 9*, our patient awoke as the four year old Polly. It did not take long to bring her to the fifteen-year level by the method of writing, but the nineteen-year level we could not get at this time. She was a very excited Polly and unusually wilful.

The next day she was still Polly and very difficult to manage. Whenever she slept she had violent dreams and when she was awake was very negativistic and hard to control, insisting that she was going to be "just as bad as she could be." She would scream if crossed in the slightest degree.

About the middle of the afternoon I put her under hypnosis and wakened her as Norma. She stayed awake for about an hour and then fell asleep. During this sleep she had some of the most violent "nightmares" that we had seen for several days. She never remembers these dreams, but she seemed to be living over some past experiences of an unpleasant nature. After a short time she awoke as Polly and ate her supper. Later she slept again and woke as Norma.

During the evening we had a curious outbreak hard to explain. She had been asleep but had waked as Norma and was talking with Mr. Rauch, and in a serious and slightly discouraged tone had asked, "When am I going to get well?" Before Mr. Rauch could formulate a carefully worded reply, Mrs. Rauch said, "If you stay like this, Norma, you will be well." Almost before she had finished speaking, Norma's eyes became fixed and then opened with a stare of fright. The next instant she rushed at Mr. Rauch, striking, struggling and screaming. At first he thought she had suddenly passed from the Norma to the Polly condition, although it was not like Polly to behave in that way. It seems rather more probable that Norma had suddenly fallen asleep and instantly developed a dream of an unpleasant sort, which excited her. It was of brief duration. Shortly afterwards she was wide awake in the Polly condition and later went to bed and slept quietly all night.

She continued to be Polly during the succeeding day. The anesthetic condition which we have spoken of as being characteristic of Polly was not quite so complete this day as on former occasions but in its place a new complication arose. During the afternoon she had several seizures of distinct catalepsy; that is to say, her arms and legs became rigid and firm as stone, her eyes were open but apparently she did not see. She did not speak, and

perhaps did not hear, but her body was like marble. I attempted to bend the elbow joint. I used all the strength I had up to the point where I was afraid I might break the bone, and still there was no yielding. The spells were of short duration, probably not over one or two minutes, and ended by a sudden and complete relaxation followed by violent struggles in sleep.

It is worthy of note and may not be without significance that she was at this time still within the limits of the menstrual period. It is quite possible that with her generally weakened condition this event, with its accompanying nervous strain, may have rendered her liable to more than usual abnormalities. At least it is a fact that those of us who were following her condition came to expect some changes, either for the better or the worse, to occur at these periods. On the other hand, the record shows that the changes did not occur with a promptitude that would lead to an inevitable conclusion that they were connected with this event. Moreover, strange occurrences did happen at other times. For example, four days later than the event just chronicled.

On Sunday, *October 16*, Polly had been with us during the early part of the day: fairly quiet in the morning; somewhat boisterous during the noon meal. In the afternoon she was persuaded to allow herself to be hypnotized and was promptly

awakened as Norma. She remained awake as Norma the rest of the afternoon; was taken for an auto ride, which she enjoyed thoroughly, and talked pleasantly with Mrs. Goddard all the time. Upon her return, as we entered the Administration Building, we thought for a moment that she was behaving like Polly, but it was only for a moment and as she passed out of the rear door to go to her room in the other cottage, she was clearly in the Norma state. As she entered her room she went directly to her table, where she had had some candy and oranges. These, it seems, had been taken during her absence, possibly by some of the delinquent girls who lived in the other part of the cottage. The last she remembers as Norma, she was looking at the table. The next minute she was Polly. Without going to sleep at all, she had changed from one personality to the other. She complained bitterly that some one had stolen her fruit. She was very much excited and that night she was very late in getting to sleep. The next few days were Polly days except that on Tuesday just before supper she was put into hypnosis and awakened as Norma, and as Norma ate her supper and started upstairs. At the head of the stairs she fell asleep, to awaken shortly as Polly.

We now come to the events of the nineteenth of October. Our patient had been with us almost a month. It was hard to discover any real improve-

ment. We were not discouraged because we knew that these cases always do recover. Nevertheless, Polly was a great trial and Norma so agreeable and nice to have around that we longed for the time when we should have all of Norma and none of Polly. Thus far we had had mostly Polly, Norma only occasionally, and then usually as the result of hypnosis.

Looking back at that time over the month that had passed, we realized that we had not made any very systematic campaign. We had been experimenting and getting acquainted. Naturally the case had been a source of wonder and curiosity to everybody at the Bureau. Everybody wanted to see her and we wanted to get acquainted with her. There was no lack of assistants who were willing to sit with her day or night.

We knew that this was not the right procedure with hysterical patients, but under the circumstances it seemed that nothing else could be done. But now the first period of excitement had passed and Polly had become pretty much a matter of course. It seemed that the time had come to take the matter seriously in hand, with a view to definitely relieving the condition.

In looking over my record of the various experiments that we had tried, and the episodes that had occurred, and considering them in connection with the various theories, it seemed that our best

hope lay through the medium of hypnotism. I determined, therefore, to push this more insistently and persistently than before.

As we have already explained briefly, the value of hypnotism lies in the kind of suggestions that are made. It is necessary, therefore, to know as much as possible of the nature of the conditions with which one has to deal, so that the suggestions may be of the kind most likely to take effect and lead to desirable results. We had to remember that this personality of Polly had been in existence for about seven weeks: three weeks before she came to us and four weeks since she came to us. Consequently a nerve habit had been developed which it would not be easy to dislodge. Therefore my hypnotic suggestions must be thought out and given with great care.

As a starting point we had the generally accepted theory that dual personality is a matter of dissociation—a “split-personality,” as it were. Not really a matter of two souls or two persons but of two parts, each functioning for itself, whereas they should be united. The correctness of this theory seemed to have been partially demonstrated already with Polly and Norma, for when Polly changed to Norma without intervening sleep there was a union of the two personalities and Norma remembered all of Polly’s life. Although this lasted only for a short time and we soon had

the independent Polly and Norma, there had been other occasions when there seemed to be a very puzzling blend of the two.

As we studied the problem from this angle, several things became clear. First and most striking, that although Norma knew that there was a Polly and had a pretty definite attitude towards her, Polly knew very little about Norma. We never were able to get very much from Polly on that subject; usually she would not talk about it. One day when I asked her if she knew Norma, she said "Yes." I said, "Who is she?" She replied, "Oh, a friend of mine who is coming to see me." But that was all I could get. Polly never asked any questions about the lapse of time during which she had been Norma. Norma would say, "Have I been Polly all this time?" but Polly never seemed to realize that any considerable time had elapsed. Even when she woke up to find that Norma had eaten the supper to which she had been looking forward, she gave no attention to the significance of the circumstance; and made no more fuss, because, of course, she was not hungry.

After thinking these matters over, I resolved to make a more persistent effort to bring the two personalities together. Because Norma could talk more intelligently about the matter, I concluded to begin with her. Accordingly on Wednesday, *October 19*, at about 11 o'clock, I put Polly to sleep

and waked her as Norma, with the expectation of talking to Norma and explaining to her more fully than I had ever done her actual situation. Again, however, I was doomed to disappointment, for I had hardly begun to lead up to the subject when Norma fell asleep and shortly awakened as Polly.

The subject may have been unpleasant to Norma: more than once I had been led to think that when an unpleasant subject was broached or an unpleasant situation immanent, she fell asleep. This suggests the familiar fact that in hypnosis patients go into sound sleep whenever told to do something that is fundamentally distasteful to them—for example, to disrobe or to commit a crime. In the afternoon, however, I made another attempt. This time Polly's own stubbornness led to another plan.

Polly did not want to go to sleep; she wanted to talk. She asked why I wanted her to go to sleep. This was a question which she had often asked and which I had always evaded, treating it as a childish method of having her own way. Now, however, I determined to answer her question. I told her frankly why I wanted her to go to sleep. I explained all about Norma: told her that Norma was a healthy girl, while she, Polly, was sick. Of course, Polly contested every point that I tried to make:

“I ain't sick.”

"Then why are you here?" etc. "Norma is nice, everybody likes her."

"Ain't I nice? Don't they like me?"

"Yes, we like you, but we like Norma better."

And so the argument went from one phase to another, Polly was wide awake but she seemed to realize that she was fighting for her life. Finally I said to her very seriously:

"Don't you want to be Norma?"

"I don't know what Norma is like. Why should I want to be like her?"

My chance had come and I was not slow in seizing it. I said to her, "You are quite right, you do not know what she is like, because you do not remember her. Let me put you to sleep and I will make you dream about Norma, and you will remember all the times you have been Norma, then I will wake you up and you will remember your dream. You will know exactly who Norma is, how she behaves, why everybody likes her, and you will know immediately whether you want to be Norma all the time or not. You go to sleep and as soon as you are asleep, I will introduce you to Norma."

As soon as I said that, she laughed and exclaimed, "Ho, introduce me to myself!" This remark can seemingly mean nothing else than that Polly did realize that Norma was herself; at least had followed my explanation fairly accurately.

The case was won. The idea appealed to Polly and she immediately composed herself and began to gaze at my bright ring which I held a little above her head, which was my usual method of putting her into hypnosis.

Very soon her lids trembled, then closed, and she was in the hypnotic state. After the usual test, I asked, "What is your name " She replied, as she always did, "Norma." To which I said:

"Yes, you are Norma, but now I want Polly. Norma, go away for a little while and let me talk to Polly. Now what is your name?"

"Polly."

"Good, you are Polly, fifteen years old."

"Yes."

"Now you are going to remember Norma. Norma is your other self, whom you have lately forgotten. Now you will remember her. You remember all about her, just what she does and everything that she has said and done during these days when you have forgotten her. Who are you?"

"Polly."

"Do you know Norma?"

"Yes."

"Who is she?"

"My other self."

"Do you remember yourself as Norma?"

"Yes."

“Good. Now you are a complete girl, having a perfect memory for all of your life. Now I am going to wake you up, and when you are awake you will remember everything just as you do now. When I count three, Polly will wake up but she will remember her life as Norma. One, two, three!”

She opened her eyes, looked at me, smiled and said, “Ain’t that funny?”

I said, “Isn’t what funny?”

“Why, now I remember all about Norma.”

I questioned her carefully and found that while she was a perfect Polly she had also a complete memory for Norma. The reader will remember that the night before I had put her to sleep just before supper and awakened her as Norma and that she ate her supper as Norma but fell to the floor, asleep, as she came upstairs after supper, and woke up as Polly. Now, when questioned about that supper, she described accurately the people who were at the table, what there was to eat, what she ate, and the fact that I did not eat anything because I was going home to my own supper.

Having satisfied myself and her that her memory was clear and accurate, I said, “What do you think of Norma?” She said, “She’s nice, I like her.” “Don’t you want to be Norma all the time?” To my surprise, she hesitated a little at this and

was not quite sure. When pressed for an answer she said, "Norma is so good. I don't think she has a good time."

We shall see later that this answer explained more than we can now understand. It seemed best not to press the matter at this time, beyond saying, rather emphatically, "Yes, Norma has a good time, but the best of it is that everybody likes her." After all, as long as we live in a world more or less organized on social lines, it is important that every one should think well of us. Consequently, their feeling toward us becomes a strong incentive to action. We deny ourselves many a gratification merely for the reason that others would not think well of us. I knew that this was strong in Polly, that she loved to be praised and thought well of, and I counted much on the effect of my repeated statement that everybody liked Norma better than Polly. That I was right is shown, I think, by the fact that this day marked a transition; that whereas previously our patient had been predominantly Polly and only occasionally Norma, from that time on, she was predominantly Norma and only occasionally Polly, although for a day or two Polly was very much in evidence.

It would seem from our later experience that this was the death struggle of Polly. In spite of her doubts about Norma, when I said to Polly,

“Well, now let’s go to sleep and wake up as Norma,” she readily consented. In hypnosis, I insisted that Norma should remember Polly as her other and less desirable self: that Norma was to be the real personality from now on. When I waked her, she was perfectly normal; remembered the Polly conversation and her previous experience with Polly; remembered all about a new dress that had recently been given to Polly. She was remarkably self-possessed and took care of herself throughout the afternoon. After supper she went to her room to rest a little before visiting with the cottage girls in the evening. While resting, she fell asleep and woke as Polly. In this capacity she was quite active until about 1:30 in the morning, when she finally went to sleep and slept the rest of the night.

The next day, I again tried the device of “introducing her to herself,” as she called it. This was entirely successful, as on the previous day, but we discovered the curious fact that a single period of sleep seemed to obliterate all the effect of the suggestion, and after a natural sleep she awoke either as Polly or Norma but without the memories of the other personality. There seemed to be, however, two distinct gains: first, her sleep was less troubled than formerly—indeed, we had from this time on almost none of the violence that characterized her sleep periods during the early days;

and second, that now, as a rule, Poliy was quite willing to be put to sleep and wake up as Norma.

On the following day, Friday, the twenty-first of October, she exhibited a new variation in her behavior. She had awakened in the morning as Polly, but after lunch had consented to be put to sleep and wakened as Norma, and Norma she remained all the afternoon. She took a long ride and one would never have suspected that there was anything unusual about her. After supper, she went to her room to rest a little, soon fell asleep and wakened as Polly. The early part of the evening, she spent knitting, while some one read to her from *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*. At eight o'clock she fell asleep and slept rather quietly until half past ten: then began a strange performance which is somewhat difficult to understand. Whether she was acting out a dream or whether it should be called a manifestation of another personality, is a question. There were, apparently, indications of both. For example during most of the time she seemed entirely oblivious of her surroundings. She talked at intervals but did not seem to be talking to anybody, although, toward the end of this attack, she declared, in answer to a question, that she was two years old. She began by talking at random and in a very low voice, so low that her words for the most part were unin-

telligible. Her speech was accompanied, however, by elaborate facial expressions.

After a few minutes, she started to get out of bed, with the statement that she was going to walk on the roof. She went to the door, which was closed, and attempted to open it from the hinge side. She alternated attempts to get out by trying the door and by pushing against the wall, as though she expected to walk through it. Remonstrances had no effect. Two nails had been driven in the door to hang clothing on. She succeeded in bending one of these, then tried the other one. When she failed, she went to the table, got her comb and tried to bend the nail, using both hands on the comb. At this point, Mr. Rauch, who was watching her, told her to put the comb over the nail and take hold of it first with one hand and then with the other. She obeyed his directions exactly but could not reach both ends of the comb at the same time. She soon tired of this and said she was going to walk on the roof.

She climbed upon the bed on to the head rail, standing there with complete security. In this position, she suddenly changed into an actress; climbed down from the bed proceeded to do what she termed a "dance." Following this, she donned the blanket, which she claimed was a robe, and walked about the room in a very dignified and

aristocratic manner. She imitated an actress very well in the pitch of her voice, choice of words, the admiration of her own charms, etc.

At one stage of this episode, she imagined that the space between the two beds was a stream of water and insisted on being permitted to get into it. So, using the rug as a boat and her hands as oars, she proceeded to row across the room. At one time she slid under the bed, remarking that she was going under a bridge. Her hands had gotten dusty on the floor and she tried to wipe them on the clothes of some of the people in the room. When told not to do this, she said, "That is not dirt. It is only powder and paint on my beautiful hands." Next, she said she was going to camp out. She took the blanket, which she had just discarded as a sealskin robe, threw it over her and lay down on the rug, apparently enjoying all the thrills of a camp. It was while camping that she informed us that she was just two years old.

At this point, Mr. Rauch interfered, insisting that she lie down and go to sleep. This she consented to do providing she could sleep on the bed opposite her own. She lay down but continued to talk. After a time, some one coughed. She screamed and appeared very much frightened, saying that there was a bear after her. In order to determine whether the cough was the cause of the fear, Mr. Rauch stepped just outside the door and

coughed again. The genuineness of her fright was evident. They then assured her that they had killed all the bears in the country. She quieted down and soon dropped asleep. She slept only a few minutes, however, then she got up and went to her own bed. She fell asleep again at about 1:30 a. m. and slept until morning.

On the whole, this seems more like a very elaborately acted out dream than anything else, but it shows how narrow is the margin between a dream and the secondary personality. She had had an emotional disturbance during the forenoon, which may possibly have had some indirect connection with this performance. We were becoming somewhat disturbed by the constant recurrence of Polly and had begun to develop the view that we should not only wake her up in the personality of Norma but that we should make life as pleasant and happy as possible for Norma and at the same time make Polly's existence less attractive to her. Accordingly, in a talk with Polly during the forenoon of this day, we had hinted to her pretty strongly that we were disappointed that we had not seemed to help her and it might be best to send her somewhere else where perhaps some other person could accomplish more. This proved to be much more of a shock than we had anticipated. Polly took it to heart very much. She cried and worried and was greatly troubled, so much so that

it was useless to attempt to talk to her about going to sleep and waking up as Norma. Nevertheless, directly in line with the theory, she herself fell asleep and woke up as Norma and was happy and normal, as has already been said, all the afternoon. Whether there was an undercurrent of nervous excitement, which led to the evening manifestation, it would be hard to tell. However, on the following day, there was a repetition of this incident, so that if it was in any way caused by emotional disturbance, the effect must be very general, for the circumstances on the second day, while perhaps emotionally exciting, were of an entirely different kind.

On Saturday, *October 22*, she was Polly during the forenoon. At noon, she wanted to go down to dinner with the rest but was told that she could only do so if she were Norma. She then begged them to send for me to put her to sleep and waken her as Norma. This was done and she ate her dinner as Norma. After dinner, another ride was planned but as we were about to start, a gentleman from her home town, in whose family she had lived at one time, came to see her. She was very cordial and natural. The three of us, in my office, discussed her case and she spoke very frankly about her various experiences. About the middle of the afternoon I thought she was getting tired and sug-

gested that she go to her room and rest a while. She did not want to leave us, so it was agreed that we would go with her. She could lie down on the bed and rest in that manner. When she reached her room, she fell in the middle of the floor. We placed her on the bed, where she slept about an hour and wakened as Polly.

As Polly opened her eyes, she saw the gentleman referred to and manifested all the joy on seeing him that any small child might, entirely oblivious of the fact that, as Norma, she had already greeted him and spent an hour with him. After the first exuberance of her joy had passed, we suggested that she should be put to sleep. She consented and was wakened up as Norma, and remained in that state until well into the evening. She was markedly quiet and sober during the supper, but from what we learned of her later, I am satisfied that this was merely a little bashfulness and perhaps fear that she would not behave well in the presence of her friend.

In the evening, she reverted to Polly again, and again clung to Mr. Caldwell as though to a long lost father. When finally he had to go to catch his train, she rebelled somewhat. We finally persuaded her to lie down and after a time she seemed to be asleep. Then it was we had a repetition of the performance of the night before, though not quite

so elaborate as on the previous evening. After Mr. Caldwell left, she finally fell into a quiet sleep and slept until morning.

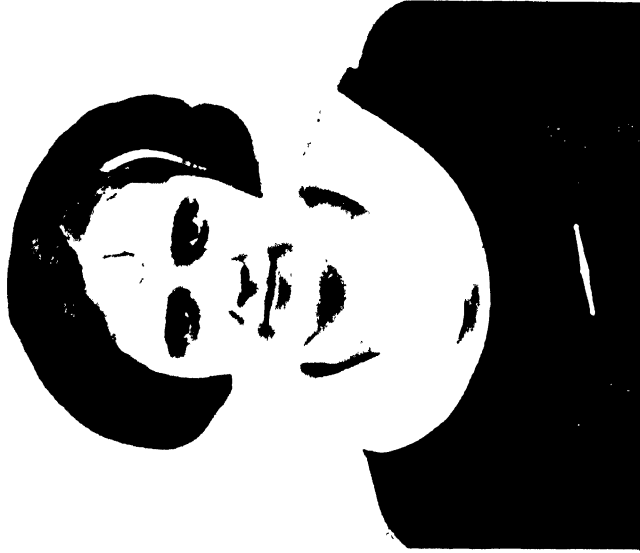
An incident worth recording and perhaps of some significance occurred in connection with Mr. Caldwell's leaving. Thinking to slip out more easily, he waited until she was apparently sound asleep. So far as we could see, there was no difference between this sleep and her usual sleep, from which it was always impossible to awaken her by shaking or by any other method; but on this occasion, although Mr. Caldwell tiptoed very quietly toward the door, he could not get to it before she wakened and caught him trying to escape. This occurred at least three times and finally he had to leave when she was awake.

The next day was Sunday, *October 23*. She was a fairly quiet Polly during the forenoon although she was somewhat wrought up over the discipline of some of the children. She did not always understand the situation in regard to these delinquent children and sometimes resented the punishments that had to be given to them. On this occasion she declared that she was going to stand up for the children because they were her "nationality," meaning her sex. However, she was put to sleep and awakened as Norma before she went down to dinner.

It had been planned that in the afternoon Norma



Norma-Polly mixture



was to take a ride and call on Mrs. Goddard. She seemed enthusiastic over the prospect until the time came to get ready to go. Then, various excuses appeared, such as "I don't want to start right away." She "wanted to talk to the children." After half an hour, she went to her room, saying that she did not feel like herself; felt too tired to change her dress. It was finally suggested that the drive be given up and that she take a nap. This she did, woke up normally and was thoroughly normal all the evening.

This attack of not feeling well when she was about to make a call on Mrs. Goddard sounds very much like the headaches that a small boy sometimes gets when it is time to go to school and it was, in fact, much the same thing, except that in Norma's case there was less consciousness connected with it and it was not so easily overcome. Later experiences proved that while she wanted to go to Mrs. Goddard's, she was nevertheless overcome with fear, and when the time came to really start, the fear manifested itself in weariness and "don't feel well." We shall explain this and its significance more fully in a later chapter.

We were gaining in our struggle with Polly, much faster than we realized. Many influences were conspiring to bring about a change, but when the change came, we did not recognize it, at least for some time. We can now see that Monday,

October 24, was the turning point. We do not mean that she was suddenly cured—far from it. She was to have a long period of convalescence. Nevertheless, the change had come. On that morning, she awoke as Norma. For the first time since August 30, she remained Norma for the entire day. From that time on, the Norma personality predominated and Polly became an incident. Polly appeared occasionally but usually for a short time only, and sometimes after long intervals. Throughout the entire week Norma lived an entirely normal life with no appearance of the Polly personality.

Sunday, *October 30*, we called at about two o'clock. She did not feel very well and later said she did not hear what we talked about. Apparently, some sort of a spell had come over her. At eight o'clock that evening she fell asleep and awoke as Polly, *four years old*. She was awake until quite late that night.

The next day she was normal but here we note the beginning of another period. She seemed to be a curious mixture of Norma and Polly. Sometimes 100 per cent. Norma and at others almost as much Polly. Predominantly Norma, however, with lapses to a Polly attitude for a moment or two. By this we mean that the "Polly" is our designation. She never called herself Polly, but always Norma. These lapses seemed to be largely a matter of fatigue. When she was rested, she was 100

per cent. Norma, but late in the afternoon, when she was tired, her behavior was more like Polly.

We have detailed at some length the life of Polly and Norma, in order that the reader may become thoroughly acquainted with the two personalities. We have carried the narrative beyond the turning point. We have seen the two personalities blend into one. There are many interesting episodes still to be related but they will be better understood and found to be more significant after the cause of the condition and something of its physiology is explained. We shall therefore take up in the next chapter parts of Norma's early life, to enable us to understand that while the phenomena we have already described are very unusual and somewhat startling, they are not the results of demon possession, but have a purely natural cause and consequently must be regarded as natural occurrences. The reason that cases of dual personality are so comparatively rare is that there are several conditions necessary for such an outcome, and while any one of the conditions is very common, it is rare to have *all* of the conditions fulfilled in one person.

CHAPTER VI

NORMA'S EARLY LIFE

The Norma and Polly personalities have already furnished us with many surprises and interesting events. The same thing is true when we turn to her early history. At her very birth, we came upon a fact of interest and significance. Norma was a twin, of the type known as "identical." There are two kinds of twins, and the distinction is very important from the standpoint of hereditary traits. One type is known as "fraternal twins." These result from two independent conceptions. Two ova are fertilized and grow and develop, producing two offspring. They do not differ from other brothers and sisters except in being born at the same time. The other type, known as "duplicate" or "identical twins," results from a single conception. One ovum is fertilized and starts development. In the early stages, the development is relatively simple. The ovum is a single cell, but, as it grows, it divides into two cells. These enlarge and each divides again, making four cells. These again grow and divide, making eight cells, and so on. Human twinning is supposed to take place in what is known as the gas-

trula stage, by a splitting of the gastrula into two. When that takes place, each develops into a complete individual and we have duplicate twins. The significance of this, for heredity, lies in the fact that a single fertilized ovum permits certain possibilities for the individual traits that would eventually make up the personality of the offspring. No two ova necessarily carry the same traits, consequently ordinary brother and sister may differ widely in appearance, in temperament, in traits and in mentality. The same is true of *fraternal* twins, because they result from the growth of two ova, but in the case of *identical* twins, one ovum, with its possible traits, having developed to the gastrula stage divides into two halves exactly alike, each one containing one-half of everything that was in the original ovum. Therefore such twins look alike, have the same traits, mentality and temperament; very largely the same interests and capacities. The reader will easily recognize these two types among his acquaintances.

It is reasonable to suppose that twins may be somewhat weaker physically and nervously than single births. The nourishment that would normally go to one offspring is divided between the two and, except in the case of extremely vigorous mothers, we would expect that each twin would be somewhat less vigorous than the average child born singly. This, indeed, is often noticeable in the

children themselves, although in many cases it is entirely made up, as it should be, by their own activity of growth. There seems to be no doubt that in Norma's case there was a distinct handicap in this direction. Norma was never strong and vigorous. To this day, she has never weighed over 112 pounds and her usual weight is about 104.

Norma and her sister were the first born. The mother was twenty years old and the father twenty-two at the time. They were born in 1902. The mother was a telephone operator before marriage and the father supported the family on his salary as a bookkeeper or accountant.

We have not ascertained much about the earlier ancestry but it seems evident at least that there was no outstanding mental trouble. Norma had nine brothers and sisters. Had they all lived, their ages at the time Norma came to us would have been 19, 17, 16, 14, 12, 10, 9, 6, and 4. Norma probably started life with something of a handicap, and with children coming into the family as rapidly as indicated, we may well believe that the strength of the older children was pretty heavily taxed as the family developed.

At the age of ten, Norma's twin sister died of diphtheria. This appears to have been a great shock to Norma, probably greater than most of us can realize, for it is another trait of identical twins that they are almost invariably very fond

of each other. The death of one is certain to be much more of a loss to the other than the death of a brother or sister under ordinary conditions. Norma had diphtheria at the same time as her sister, but she was given antitoxin and recovered. On account of some complication, the antitoxin was not given to the sister. At about the same time, the next younger brother died of tuberculosis, at the age of eight. The following year, another brother, aged two, died of spinal meningitis. The year before Norma's breakdown, another sister died, at the age of eleven, of tuberculosis.

All this constituted a rather unusual experience with death for a child of her age. Perhaps the next great shock was at the onset of puberty, which occurred three months after her thirteenth birthday. Her mother had not prepared her for this ordeal; consequently she was greatly frightened by her first experience.

About two years later her father was found to have tuberculosis. He was sent to a sanitarium, where he died a year later. At this time, there were seven children living, the youngest an infant. The mother herself was sickly. In such a situation, it was inevitable that Norma should work beyond her strength, as she was not of the type that insists upon having a good time regardless of the welfare of the rest of the family. On the contrary, she always has been very fond of her family and willing

to work as long as she could move. She remembers that during these years she always felt tired. She did not sleep well and she had many dreams. She knows that she walked in her sleep when she was as young as six years old.

A year after the father's death, her mother, who had also contracted tuberculosis, was taken to a sanitarium where she too died after a year's struggle to get well. Thus, at the age of 17 Norma was orphaned.

A relative writes the following about her :

"She did not seem to build up and get strong after having diphtheria in 1910. Also after having flu and after the death of her parents she took sleeping spells lasting anywhere from 20 to 40 hours. She did not seem nervous usually but seemed to fear some one entering the home at night at times. Her general health was good but she frequently complained of being *tired* and having headache."

She had already given evidence that her nervous system, never vigorous, was breaking under the strain. When the mother went to the sanitarium, the home was broken up and the children scattered. This was a severe shock, a real tragedy in Norma's life. She was given a home by some neighbors, but later, when these neighbors went South for the winter, she was taken in by a distant rela-

tive. She was in the first year of high school and getting on nicely, but in March her health broke down and she had to leave.

The woman relative had little understanding of children or sympathy for Norma's frailties. As so often happens, Norma's behavior was attributed to laziness instead of to illness. Norma was timid, especially in the dark. She slept alone on the second floor while her woman relative slept on the first floor. The house was large and lonesome. The old lady, thinking to cure Norma's timidity by making her endure greater fears, compelled her to go upstairs in the dark and, for fear that even that might not be quite enough, she was in the habit of calling out to an imaginary burglar about the time Norma reached the top of the stairs, "There is your girl, grab her!" Under these conditions Norma could not sleep and she would sometimes creep downstairs and stay in the kitchen all night. Once, she was so frightened that she was forced to awaken the woman, but instead of comfort and help, received a scolding.

In the spring, the friends returned from the South and took her back to their home. They attributed a good deal of her later trouble to the shocks that were given her in the old lady's house. At least, they found a marked change in her when she returned to them.

About this time, she had an attack of somnam-

bulism, or sleep-walking, and one day fell in what seemed to be a fainting spell. This seems to have been only the same kind of sleep that she has when she passes from one personality to another. She awoke in a few moments. These spells were rare at this time and had no other symptom.

In August of that year (1919) a friend of the family secured her a position in Cleveland, where she was supposed to work for her board and go to school. The next month her mother died in the sanitarium. Apparently, Norma was already a sick woman, more suitable to be in a sanitarium herself than to be working for her living, but no one understood this, and her somewhat unsatisfactory conduct was attributed to laziness, or indolence, or lack of interest or selfishness—almost any of the traditional sins of childhood.

Soon after she began life with this family in Cleveland, the sleep-walking became a habit and once she was found with a carving knife in her hand. She explains that she was dreaming of snakes and had gone to the kitchen to get the knife to kill them. In order to protect her, and probably the rest of the family, it was thought necessary to lock her in her room at night. This only added to her fears and probably hastened her breakdown. Her health continued to get steadily worse until finally, one morning, while at her work, she fell off her chair in deep sleep. The next day, she was

taken to the City Hospital. She slept for two days and could not be wakened. She remained in the hospital seven weeks and had several spells of prolonged sleep from which it was impossible to wake her. Finally, she was sufficiently recovered to leave the hospital but was not strong enough to go to work. The following report is taken from the hospital records:

“Admitted to the Cleveland City Hospital February 8, 1920 through Probate Court. Present Illness: Last Saturday, two days ago, while patient was peeling potatoes she went to sleep; she awoke Sunday afternoon. She remembers nothing that occurred. She was in bed when she awoke and felt weak. She works for Dr. P—— who gave her a hypo and sent her in. Lately patient has been nervous; often has bad dreams; she cannot sleep well; often cries out in her sleep. She also walks in her sleep and does peculiar acts. Patient has been in Cleveland since August; she does domestic work for Dr. P——’s home. Patient has had attacks similar to present; attacks come by patient going to sleep; feels weak next day. Past History: Diphtheria eight years ago; flu last winter, tonsilitis last winter, also childhood diseases. Patient often had headaches until got glasses, no diplopia. Poor appetite lately, usually good, good digestion, some constipation. Menses began at 13 years; come regularly every four weeks. Father died at 40 years with Tuberculosis, mother died at 38 years

with Tuberculosis. Two brothers living and well, two died of meningitis and diphtheria. Three sisters living and well, one sister died with tuberculosis and one sister died of diphtheria. No insanity, no epilepsy, in family. One great aunt was insane. Patient had a part of a year in Lisbon High School, had to stop because of nervousness. Pt. made good grades. Has done housework since September. No drugs, alcohol, or tobacco. Fairly well developed, poorly nourished white girl, 17 years old. At the beginning of the exam she was seemingly comatose. Would not reply to questions, would coöperate to slight extent. Skin: Some eruption on face and back—a seborrhea. Head: Negative. Ears: No discharge. Eyes: Pupils equal, concentric, react to light and accommodation. Nose: Negative. Mouth: Several cavious teeth, tongue, slightly coated. Neck: no rigidity. Chest: Flat, good movements and equal. Percussion: Resonant throughout except some dullness over right hilus. Breath sounds normal, no rales. Normal fremitus. Abdomen: No tenderness, no rigidity, liver and spleen not palpable. Heart: No enlargement, no precordial activity, no murmurs and no thrills. Pulse: Regular in rate and rhythm, good volume normal tension. Genitals: Not examined. Ext. Negative. Reflexes: All present, none abnormal except very active. Impression: Hysteria.

“2-11-20 Patient while under examination suddenly regained consciousness and seemed to be

entirely normal. Says she doesn't remember anything much since the doctor gave her a hypo on Saturday. Patient works and walks about the ward all day. No symptoms.

"2-15-20 Dr. P—— called and tells of girl having nightmares. She cries out aloud and is awakened with difficulty. She walks about in her sleep, once or twice has come downstairs to get a knife to cut imaginary snakes. She sometimes cannot be awakened at all during these periods. Attacks come after day of excitement or visit to movies.

"2-28-20 Patient again suddenly seized with a spell while in bed. Very restless. On waking in A. M. claims she merely had a wild dream but remembers nothing else.

"3-5-20 Another attack of crying; kicking about and unconscious. Wassermann report was negative. Diagnosis of the case was chlorosis and neuro-Psychasthenia. Discharged by request of Probate Court on March 26, 1921."

For the next three or four months she was cared for by a charitable organization. Finally, on the fifteenth of August, 1920, she secured a position in a good family to take care of a small boy three years old. She was fond of the boy and enjoyed the work but in her condition it was a severe strain on her constitution. In November she had a vacation,

and she visited in her home town. At this time, there was another attack of sleep-walking.

A year later, about the middle of August, 1921, she was again given a vacation by her kind employers and went back to her home town, where she was entertained by the family that had adopted her youngest sister, at that time four years old. Her two-weeks vacation was to end on Sunday, when she would return to the care of the little boy. On the previous Thursday, she suddenly "fell" and when she awoke, after a troubled sleep, with violent struggles, she did not know anybody and acted very strangely. Finally, in answer to a question, she said her name was Polly. Asked how old she was, she said four years. This was the first appearance of the secondary personality.

For the next three weeks these good friends took care of her, having very much the same experiences that we have already described when she first came to us, except that when she was Polly during this period, she was always a four year old Polly and never fifteen. The alternations, as a rule, were rather frequent, though on one occasion she remained Polly for six days, precisely as she did later with us. At the end of three weeks the family, driven almost to desperation by this unusual experience, secured her commitment to the Bureau of Juvenile Research for observation,

study, and treatment. This brings us to the point where we started, September 22, 1921.

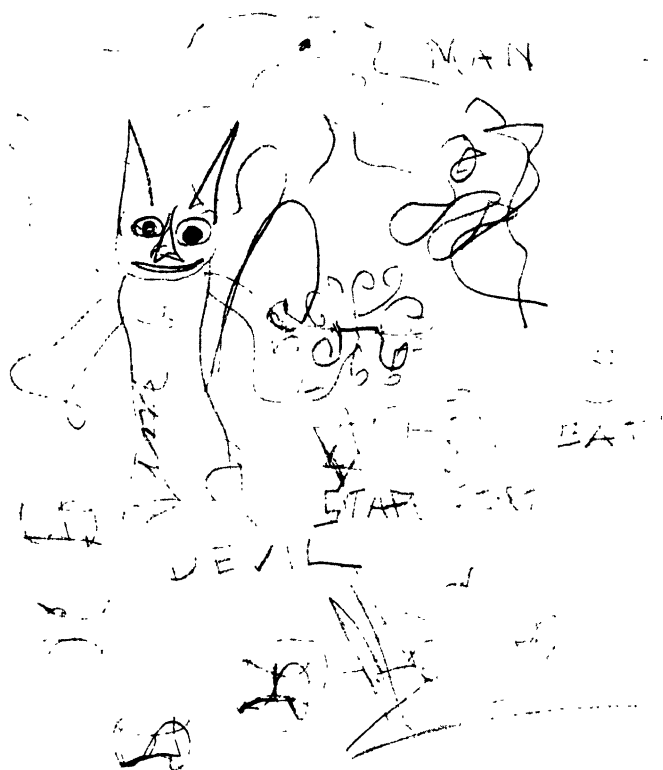
In character and disposition, Norma is unusual. In spite of all her trouble and illness she is amiable—a favorite with every one, cheerful and happy. Her character is above reproach. Even in the Polly stage she has always been honest and truthful. She has never been even suspected of taking anything that did not belong to her, though she has had abundant opportunity. She has never been known to lie, although many times she would have obtained what she wanted if she would have told “just a little lie”: for instance, her conduct in regard to candy. Friends sometimes sent candy to her and she was allowed to have two pieces a day. Although she was very fond of it, she never tried to deceive us. Many times she wanted candy but when asked if she had had her two, said promptly “Yes.” Not only were Norma and Polly thus honest and truthful but each would keep a promise made by the other. We had only to say “When you were Polly, you promised,” and Norma would at once accept it.

CHAPTER VII

HOW DUAL PERSONALITY ORIGINATES

We have shown, I think, that the conditions of Norma's life were sufficiently harsh to break down the health and the spirit of a much stronger person than she ever was, but the reader is now thinking: "How did those conditions produce the dual personality?" Many a child has gone through conditions as hard as these. They have broken down in health; they have lost courage; they may even have become insane, but they have not developed a double personality. What is the explanation? We shall now begin to answer that question.

Before we can learn how double personality is caused, we must learn what double personality is. That again calls for an understanding of what we mean by personality. The term personality has many usages, but in the phrase "dual personality" it signifies the sum total of all the qualities, traits and peculiarities by which one person is distinguished from another or by which one is recognized as an individual. The traits and peculiarities would commonly be spoken of as physical and mental. The physical would be again divided into form and activity; the former resolves itself into



Sample of Polly's Scribblings

Sample of Polly's scribbblings

personal appearance, such as handsome or ugly, tall or short, fat or thin, while activity covers all the bodily movements and activities, such as quick movements or slow, graceful or awkward, active or inactive, etc. One of the most important activities is speech, the character of which constitutes a very important item of the personality; whether the speech is pleasing or harsh, loud or soft, much or little, and so on through a long list of attributes.

Under the head of the mental traits would be included what ever we know of the way a man thinks and feels. We say he is intelligent or unintelligent, quick of thought or slow of thought, a deep thinker or a superficial thinker; we say a man has good judgment or poor, strong will or weak, violent emotions or moderate, and so through another list of considerable length.

Certain of the activities and the mental traits that go with them, which relate him to his fellow beings, are usually grouped together under the head of his moral qualities or morals, since our conception of his personality includes the notion of good morals or bad.

We have already used some of these terms in describing Polly and distinguishing her from Norma. Norma was quiet and well behaved; Polly was inclined to be wild and boisterous. Physically, of course, they were the same so far as quantity and quality were concerned, but when we turn to

the group of activities, we find a marked contrast and we ask ourselves why it is that Polly and Norma act so differently. For the answer we must look at the problem from a different angle. So far we have considered personality from the outside, as it were. We traced the qualities by which we recognize a person as an individual. We must now look at it from the *inside* and ask ourselves what makes us the persons we know ourselves to be. "Why am I what I am?" We are back on familiar ground when we answer, "I am what I am through heredity and environment." We need not stop to discuss the old question of which is the more important or which contributes more. It is sufficient for our present purpose to recognize that I have inherited an organism which has grown and developed and been acted upon by the environment.

Again, it is customary to say I have a mind and a body and that the environment influences me both through the physical and the mental. If I have at some time broken a leg and it has healed in such a way that I limp, the limp becomes a prominent part of my physical personality. I can never walk without the limp because my organism has been altered in such a way that the limp is inevitable.

When it comes to the mental side, we seem to have a different condition of things. Let us say that I broke my leg by slipping on an icy sidewalk.

Now, beside the limp which resulted, I have acquired a *state of mind* whereby I either avoid or walk with extreme caution on icy sidewalks. But the condition which teaches me caution when near icy sidewalks is that I remember the past experience and the broken leg. Whenever I forget that I slipped and broke my leg on an icy pavement, I cease to be cautious and, so far as that situation is concerned, become careless. Now, we have only to realize that I am not only influenced in my actions by the fact that I remember that I slipped on an icy pavement and broke my leg, but I have scores, hundreds, thousands, of similar memories that are continually influencing my actions. It may be that all this has modified my personality so that I am timid.

We must remember too, that many of these memories I have obtained, as we say, vicariously. That is to say, I have not myself had the experience, but I have seen others have it, or heard of it or read of it, and as long as I remember what I have seen, or heard, or read, I am affected in my actions just the same. Whenever I forget it, my action changes. Nor is it necessary that the experience be blotted out of the memory entirely. It may simply not be remembered on this particular occasion when its memory would have influenced my action. These are the experiences that continually happen to us and which we explain by saying that

we acted as we did because at the moment we *did not remember* the experience or circumstance that would have led us to act differently.

Since my personality, including as it does my attitude toward all kinds of situations, is very heavily dependent upon my memory, I may revise my definition of personality here and say it is the sum total of all the impressions that the environment has made on my physical organism plus every experience that I have ever had, either actually or vicariously, which is remembered, or can be remembered, at any particular moment. For the sake of clearness, let me explain a little further. I have said that if I could forget all the experiences of slipping on an icy pavement I should be changed from a cautious individual to a bold or careless one. If I could forget various experiences I would be happier than I am. If I should forget certain other experiences I would be less happy.

Sometimes, however, the loss of memory does not change one's actions. These are the cases where the original experience has led to a habit of action, a nerve habit or a neuromuscular co-ordination. In these cases, one may forget either temporarily or almost permanently and still carry on the original action. A convenient illustration is at hand. I have been told recently that I am conspicuous on the golf course for carrying my golf club with the shaft resting on my shoulder. I have

never seen any one else do this. Why should I do it? I believe I have found the explanation in an experience long since given up and forgotten; namely, that when a boy, hunting, I have tramped many miles with a gun *on my shoulder*. A fixed method of action was formed and now continues in spite of my efforts to overcome it.

If the foregoing is clear, it must be evident that it might be possible under certain circumstances for one to forget such parts and experiences of his life as would render him, acting under the influence of the remaining experience, quite a different personality. For example, if the four year old Polly could have been recognized by any one as a reproduction of Norma's own life when she was four years old, the Polly personality would be easily and naturally explained. As a matter of fact, this was not the case, but we shall describe later a phenomenon that Norma treated us to which was exactly on this order.

Dual personality is thus having two sets of qualities and traits, each of which constitutes a personality, a person, an individual, and which is sufficiently unlike the other set to constitute a *different* person, as viewed by others and as experienced by the individual herself. Everybody recognized that Polly was a different person from Norma. As for Polly herself, she did not know of Norma's existence until told, and then she never troubled her-

self about her. Norma, on the other hand, soon understood that there was a Polly and she was more or less ashamed of Polly's actions, but she had no control over her and knew nothing of her real life.

We must now try to understand how such things can be. Perhaps our best approach is through those everyday experiences with which we are all familiar. So far as two sets of traits are concerned, we are all cases of dual personality in the sense that there are times when we are very different from what is called our usual selves. We have sometimes been told that on a certain occasion we did not act like ourselves; at other times we have said that we did not feel like ourselves. It is said that there are people who are good and saintly on Sunday, but cruel and wicked on weekdays. Many people show a different personality in the presence of different individuals. Most of us are more or less different at night, when we are tired from a hard day's work, from what we were in the morning when we were fresh from a night's sleep. Some people are grouchy and cross when they are hungry but goodnatured and pleasing when they have eaten. We sometimes say of people making love to each other, "How can she endure him? He is not her style at all." The explanation is that when he is in her presence he is a different personality from what is generally known. This is probably the explanation of many unhappy

marriages. One or both of the individuals has presented an entirely unnatural, one might almost say abnormal, personality to the other before their marriage. After marriage, the true personality comes out and they find that they are incompatible. One might add to this list indefinitely but we have given enough illustrations to show that we are all subject to many influences which produce very radical temporary changes that might very properly be called different personalities and often are so designated.

Still we seem to be a long way from anything like Polly and Norma, but we are in fact very close, and we need only to add one more factor to make the cases identical. That factor is none other than amnesia—loss of memory. The reason we do not call ourselves cases of dual personality is because we remember all our past—there is no break—but if we had a lapse of memory the duality would be established.

Let us assume a case for illustration. Suppose that yesterday I acted very strangely, said and did things that I had never done before. My behavior attracted the attention of everybody who came near me but no one dared to say anything about it. Today, I woke up in a more natural frame of mind and behaved as I usually do and somebody ventures to say to me, "What was the matter with you yesterday? You acted strangely."

I would probably say, "Yes, I know I did. I don't know why, but I was not feeling well." In this case, I have my memory; I remember all about yesterday; I know it was peculiar, but it was I, and I know it was I. On the other hand, suppose that when I woke up this morning, I had no memory of yesterday at all. When asked about yesterday, I know nothing of it. I think they are talking about day before yesterday, which I remember, and because yesterday is forgotten, I remember day before yesterday as yesterday. Then my friends would say it is a case of dual personality, and if to-morrow I fall back to the condition of yesterday, then I would remember all about yesterday but nothing of to-day. Moreover, if I had been asked my name yesterday, and if I had forgotten my real life and name, I would naturally invent a name. Then I would clearly be regarded as having a dual personality. This is exactly what we have with Polly and Norma. When the memory of one personality for the other was brought back through hypnotic suggestion, then we had what we called the Polly-Norma mixture or, in other words, we had established the identity of the personalities. It will be remembered that when Polly changed to Norma without going to sleep, we found that Norma remembered all the experiences of Polly. The sleep period intervening between the two phases seems to favor the forgetting of one

phase by the other. It breaks the continuity. We shall see when we come to Norma's later career that she was subject to this lapse of memory for a considerable time. In other words, we had succeeded in uniting the two personalities but the old habit of separation still continued and it was the work of months to obliterate it.

Two questions now remain to be answered. First, what causes this strange kind of forgetting, amnesia, as the scientist calls it; and second, how does this secondary personality become so well organized—so complete in itself, so consistent? How could Polly live day after day a thoroughly consistent life—so consistent that if one had never known Norma, one would have been quite satisfied with the Polly personality and have considered her a normal child; peculiar to be sure, but normal?

It is easy to give to the first question an answer that is reasonable though it may not be true. The loss of memory, while not clearly understood by the scientist, is undoubtedly a question of the condition of the nervous system. We do have some such experiences in everyday life that may help us to understand. We know that people can not remember as well when they are severely fatigued as when they are rested. We know that old people, whose nervous systems are clearly wearing out, are very apt to be forgetful and sometimes even

lose all of their memory. It is true that these illustrations are not exactly like the kind of amnesia that we find in the dual personality cases. The loss of memory that we find in the aged and fatigued is likely to be first a loss of memory for details, or a loss of memory for the less important circumstances, whereas in the dual personality cases, it is a total loss of memory for everything over certain periods of time, as, for instance, a few hours, or a few days. It is possible that there is another factor present which does not appear in the examples given: i. e., the phase of memory that we speak of as association. With the dual personality, for reasons that will be explained in the next chapter, a whole block of memories is lost because the one line of association that would bring up each memory is itself broken. We may say for the present that the conditions for the loss of memory as we find it in these cases is an *exhausted nervous system*.

We have seen from Norma's history that we are perfectly safe in assuming that her nervous system was utterly exhausted and this is the point to be remembered in this connection. *The one great fundamental condition upon which dual or multiple personality is based is a more or less exhausted or weak nervous system*—a nervous system that does not develop its full quota of energy. A crude analogy may help to an understanding of

this. We heat our houses sometimes by a steam system, with a boiler and furnace in the cellar and radiators in every room throughout the house. Now, if there is plenty of coal that is burning well, a great amount of energy is developed, the steam pressure is up and every radiator is hot—a normal, healthy condition for keeping your house at the proper temperature—but if the coal is poor, the draft is shut off, or if for any reason the fire will not burn well, not much steam is generated and some of the radiators will be cold. A few get all the steam that is generated. A hysterical person is one whose radiators are not all going because there is not enough energy or steam to fill them all.

We come to our second question: How does the secondary personality become so elaborate that it is thought of by many as a second soul? This is such a hard question that many people have preferred to accept the easy solution that it *is* a second soul and to drop the problem there. The objection to this procedure is the objection that always exists to accepting as a solution of any problem, a supernatural principle, such as a demon, a spirit, a power, or any other “something” that can not be weighed, measured or handled. The objection, namely, that since the principle *is* supernatural, it is not possible of understanding, therefore we give up: we make no further attempt at an explanation.

This means, of course, that we stagnate, we become helpless, we endure ills that might be remedied, we allow our friends to suffer and die when they might be cured. We become superstitious. We retrograde toward savagery. We have seen that as long as we thought that insanity was due to evil spirits nothing was done. It is true that in the case of supposed demon possession it was sometimes possible to exorcise the evil spirit but it was a painful and laborious method even when successful. It was successful because it unwittingly used the principles of scientific therapy. It was painful and laborious because based upon the wrong theory and in ignorance of the principles involved. But while the question is a difficult one to answer it can be answered with probably a high degree of accuracy. Science has not yet a final answer or a completely satisfactory explanation; nevertheless many facts are known and any one with sufficient intelligence to keep the essential facts in mind and put them in their right relations can see a fairly satisfactory picture of how it all comes about.

The first thing that we have to recognize is that man has the power of thinking by contrast. Black suggests white; cold, hot; high, low; good, bad; unhappiness, happiness. This is true of even fairly low intelligence. It would take us too far afield to go into the psychology of this. It is sufficient for

our purpose to recognize that whenever we have an unpleasant situation to face, we are likely to think of a pleasanter situation that we would like to enjoy. It is this principle that has led to many of our inventions. A disagreeable task, involving a great deal of hard work, sets a man to thinking how he can devise some way of accomplishing the same thing more easily. Many of the people who have invented important and useful things are called dreamers—not night-dreamers, but day-dreamers, as they spend much time thinking how they could accomplish the desired end. Finally, as the result of much thinking or daydreaming, they succeed in devising a plan for the solution of the problem. Their daydreaming was justified.

There is, however, another kind of daydreaming which leads not to invention for the benefit of humanity but leads to, and in fact constitutes, the other factor of dual personality. This is the daydreaming of a person who, when he has a hard task to perform, thinks not how he can perform the task more easily, but how he can escape the task entirely. Moreover, he does escape it for the time being, by dreaming about an existence where no such task exists. This is many people's idea of heaven, as it was of the overworked woman who sang, when she was dying, "Do not mourn for me now, and mourn for me never, for I've gone to do nothing forever and ever." Children develop such

daydreams when the conditions under which they live are too hard for them or become intolerable. They spend much time, not in devising ways to improve the condition (they do not know how to do that) but in imagining themselves living in a world where such unpleasant conditions do not exist. This is the evil of daydreaming. We sometimes blame children for developing the habit, but in this, we are wrong. The child is not to blame, for he can not help it. We are to blame for not changing the conditions, for not fitting the task to the child so that he can perform it and receive his reward. No child ever ought to face conditions that make him discouraged and drive him into daydreaming. It is the business of adults to see that children have tasks that they can do and enjoy doing. Our motto for ourselves and for children, but for children especially, should be: "Happiness first; all else follows." This does not mean that every detail of the task is in itself necessarily pleasant. The task itself may be very disagreeable, but the child may still be happy in the doing because of the *end in view*, which he appreciates. If the task is not beyond his strength or capacity he will put himself through the ordeal for the sake of the reward. The reward may be the glory of achievement, the approval of some one he loves or respects, or the attainment of a desired objective. It is when the task is beyond his strength or when

he has no objective, or does not appreciate the objective, that he is unhappy in the doing and seeks a way of escape by daydreaming.

Now when this daydreaming becomes a habit, it becomes elaborated and systematized until it is as elaborate as life itself. The child can live in his daydreams as thoroughly and consistently and far more happily, of course, than in his daily life. But it is only a dream and he always knows that there is reality which must be faced, however uncomfortable it is. When he is facing real life, he may think of his daydreams and recognize them as dreams. In the daydream he knows there is the real life—that is, under the normal condition. But if some condition arises whereby the connection between the two is broken and he can forget one or the other, then the two are separated and *dual personality results*. He lives in the one that he happens to wake up in, and he knows nothing of the other.

We will now apply this to Polly. We have seen that Norma had had to face conditions that were too hard for her inexperience and her weak nervous system. It was inevitable that she should think much about a situation in which she would be free from all these cares and troubles and worries. She daydreamed, she built up a life that had all the things for which she longed and which was free from all the things that annoyed her. I was never

able to get her to admit that she had formulated any such plans and it was quite possible that she was hardly conscious of them. In comparison with the realities of her life, her dreams were vague and indefinite. Nevertheless, she did not realize that throughout the many weeks that I watched and studied her, she was continually revealing to me her longings and desires, her wants and wishes. Strangely enough, she was very uncomplaining. What I learned of the hardships of her life, I learned from others or by persistent and insistent questioning.

She longed above all else for her mother, and her home. She longed to be with her brothers and sisters. She longed for the pleasures that every girl has a right to. She longed to escape from the humdrum and monotony and drudgery of earning a living. She told me that on one occasion she was so hungry for a little excitement, a little escape from the monotony that she had to endure, that she and a girl friend went to one of the amusement parks in the city and in one evening she spent five dollars in trying all the amusements and everything that could give her a thrill. This was not long before her breakdown and is probably a significant symptom that the break was coming. I believe that we may go a step farther in her case and make a pretty shrewd guess as to the origin of the secondary personality in its details.

It will be remembered that she had been visiting for nearly two weeks in a home where her little four year old sister had been adopted. She saw this little sister loved and petted and fondled, receiving attentions from all the household, showered with gifts and dresses and finery, no work to do because, of course, she was not old enough to work. It is unthinkable that during those days, Norma should not have thought many times: "Oh, that I were in her place!"

Even the name Polly can probably be accounted for. Her sister Pauline, who had died, had been a great favorite in the family and was familiarly called Polly. So that name was fast fixed in her mind. The fifteen year old Polly may have been Pauline herself, or it may have been another sister still living or perhaps some girl friend.

Such were the elements. Now we may put them all together. We have seen that at six years of age she remembers that she walked in her sleep. At sixteen when she went away to work, she not only walked in her sleep but fell over without warning into those conditions of sleep which later characterized her transition from one personality to the other. Her nervous system was gradually getting to the breaking point. She did not have two brains, as our young would-be medical student thought, but her one brain undoubtedly had developed, as the result of her two lines of thought, two systems

of nerve cells, the one serving her actual life with all its hardships, the other the group of nerve cells whose activities gave her her daydreams. These two systems were not very intimately connected. Each was very complete in itself but had very little to do with the other. The time came when there was a break. There was *not enough nervous energy* to keep both systems going at once. Consequently, when one was active the other was dormant; one was awake while the other slept. Polly knew nothing of Norma and Norma knew nothing of Polly, and thus we have the complete story.

In the next chapter we must consider her later history, because it is interesting in itself and because many of her experiences will corroborate and make clear the explanation that we have already given.

CHAPTER VIII

NORMA CONVALESCENT

We now are in a position to understand and appreciate the significance of some of the episodes of Norma's convalescent period. We have made two important discoveries from our study of Norma's case. First, we have learned that a dual or multiple personality which seems so weird as to be almost uncanny or unbelievable has been reduced to a natural phenomenon, like any other disease from which humanity suffers; and second, we have a fairly clear picture of the whole process—how it starts and how it develops as well as how it is cured. It is not expected that every reader will have found this latter perfectly clear. Indeed, it can not be perfectly clear because it is probably not perfectly true: that is to say, science does not yet know exactly what happens, but we have put together a picture here which does not violate any known facts and which does have many analogies with other understood phenomena and makes use of well known facts of everyday life as well as the sciences of physiology, psychology and biology. We shall find that Norma's later expe-

riences, while frequently raising new questions, on the whole clarify the situation.

When we interrupted our story of Norma's life at the Bureau, to discuss the case (Chapter V.), we had brought her to the point where she was, in a sense, cured, though there would yet be a long period of convalescence. She was living a normal life, the two personalities were for the most part merged into one and though we could often see the Polly character and disposition, especially when Norma was fatigued, these were but phases of the Norma life. She called herself Norma and was very happy in the thought that she was getting better. Nevertheless she had her ups and downs, like any other convalescent.

A transcript from the record for the first four days of November will give an idea of how these days passed for her.

Tuesday, Nov. 1. Awoke at 6:30 as Norma but read herself to sleep and slept until about 10 a. m.

She cleaned her room, went to lunch and after lunch took a nap. Slept about three minutes and awoke. Soon slept again but not long. Came to laboratory about 4 p. m. Has shown the same mixture as yesterday but not so marked, perhaps because she has kept more quiet. She has not been "put to sleep" since *last Wednesday* and then only because she was so excited over the Halloween party that she could not go to sleep. I merely

helped her to go to sleep and gave no further suggestion.

Wednesday, November 2. Awoke late (Norma). At 2 p. m. I returned with Dr. Arps. She met him normally but showed some Polly as she exhibited her knitting. Asked if she had had a nap, she laughed and said no. I suggested that she go over and lie down and we would come over in five minutes. She put away her knitting and went. About ten minutes later we found her asleep. We watched her until she awoke at about 4:30 p. m. as Norma. While asleep she was quite restless and two or three times had to be held on the bed. Did not struggle as much as sometimes. In the evening she went to the movie. Was quiet. Came home and went to bed about 9:30. Sleeping normally.

Thursday, November 3. Awoke 6:30 but read herself to sleep and slept until about 10 a. m. Norma. Came to laboratory about eleven. Received a letter and check. Quiet. Just before dinner she was much disturbed because "Grace" had not been treated right. We gradually got her mind off it during dinner. After dinner she took her nap but did not go to sleep for nearly an hour. Was somewhat downhearted. Finally slept until 4:30, a very troubled sleep. Called "Mama" several times and "Daddy, don't let them hurt me." Several "sleep-walking" phases in which she was Polly (probably four years). Once she got out on floor and played with the chair and pillow—fast asleep. Awoke normal and after about ten minutes

fell asleep again. Awoke finally very normal. Has not felt well all day.

Friday, November 4. She woke about 6 a. m. I saw her about 10 a. m. She fell asleep while I was talking to her. Had just asked her if she was happy. She did not answer and I found she was asleep. Woke in a few minutes. A little later asked her if she believed I was working to make her happy. She fell asleep instantly but awoke in a few minutes. Just before lunch began to have pain. After lunch put her to sleep and suggested freedom from pain. She slept about fifteen minutes and woke up (alone) and went to laboratory.

It is the record of an extremely nervous individual, easily disturbed, strongly aroused by insignificant circumstances, moody and unstable. It was a condition that even we who were working with her could not fully appreciate. That is to say, we were so overjoyed to have her normal, that we continually assumed that she was stronger than she really was. Consequently we were not as careful to protect her from disturbing situations as we should have been. The following episode, illustrative of this, occurred at this time.

There was a strong friendship between Norma and Mrs. Goddard. There had been a plan for some time that when Norma should be strong enough she was to spend the day with Mrs. Goddard. We have already explained how we once be-

Columbus, Ohio
Nov. 5, 1921

Dear Mrs. Loddard,

Please accept my
thanks for your invitation for Sunday.
I shall gladly accept. I was very much ^{please} to
get your note. I am going to the picture
show tonight with Jennie. We are going to
the show near here. Your husband said he
will take me down town next week to a
good one. I want to see Mary Pickford. I
am feeling a lot better today. I took a long
restful nap this afternoon and feel a great
deal better. Mrs. Rauch came today and
I was so glad to hear I can hardly wait
till tomorrow because I know I will have
a lovely time. But don't go to any body for
me. I hope your are feeling fine and I
am very anxious to see you.

Your Friends,

A sample of Norma's writing

fore attempted to set the day and how Norma, little by little, let the time go by and finally found herself too tired to dress for the occasion. Norma had seemed so well lately, that we again planned the day and set Sunday, November 6, for the time. I went after her at 10:30, when she was supposed to be ready to start. I can see now that there was something of the same fear that had affected her on the former occasion, for, although she pretended to be enthusiastic about going, and I think really did want to go, yet she was more than an hour in getting started. We arrived at the house (about a half hour's drive), at noon. Norma was perfectly natural and behaved as any other girl would. She was alert and responsive and seemed to enjoy herself thoroughly. Dinner was at one o'clock.

After dinner she spent the time about the house with Mrs. Goddard and after a time they both decided that they would take a Sunday afternoon nap. Norma slept quietly for about two hours. This was followed by a period of turnings and outcrys which became quite violent. Soon she awoke as our old friend, the four year old Polly. Mrs. Goddard called me and as I entered the room Polly called me "Sarah," a term that I had not heard for weeks. While I was trying to get her to go to sleep, Dr. and Mrs. Arps came to call. Polly heard their voices and, true to her old habit, in-

sisted that they come upstairs to see her. As they entered her room, she named them "Billie" and "Tillie." After a few minutes she fell asleep in Mrs. Goddard's lap and presently awoke as Norma but soon fell asleep again. She repeated this three times before she finally woke up completely and came downstairs. She was now Norma and did not know Mrs. Arps, whom as Polly, she had just named "Tillie." She was introduced and took her part in the conversation as naturally as any one. She talked about the Bureau and things in which she was interested. She told us about her family and some of her early experiences. Through it all, she was very natural, normal and interesting.

After a while the conversation drifted to topics in which she was not interested but to which she seemed to be listening patiently and it was about 6:30 when she dropped asleep in her chair. We fixed her comfortably on the couch, where she slept quietly and naturally for two hours. It had been our intention to take her back to the Bureau in the evening, but since she had fallen asleep and did not wake up, we decided to put her to bed and take her back in the morning. About nine o'clock she became quite violent in her sleep and would only be quiet when she was clinging to Mrs. Goddard, whom she took for her mother. At times, she seemed to be almost awake as Polly and once

she replied to a question, saying that she was eight years old. Finally, at eleven o'clock, she became quiet and slept until eight the next morning.

This was indeed a relapse and we were very much disappointed, but our troubles had only begun. At eight o'clock the next morning, she apparently awoke in a different personality from any we had seen. She was restless and called for her mother. Mrs. Goddard went to her and she put her arms around Mrs. Goddard's neck and fell asleep. This was repeated many times. At eleven o'clock I returned home and tried to take care of Norma to give Mrs. Goddard some rest, but Norma would have none of me. She struck at me and called mother to protect her against daddy. This continued until about noon, when she finally woke as Norma. She soon fell asleep again and after a few minutes awoke as four year old Polly. This program with variations kept up all day. Three times she had cataleptic seizures during which she was as rigid as stone. Two or three minutes after the relaxation set in she became extremely violent, biting and scratching and screaming. From 6 p. m. until 1:20 in the morning, she slept and was four year old Polly by spells. The sleep was usually troubled, though sometimes quiet and frequently punctuated by cries of "mother."

The next morning she awoke at 7:30, definitely Polly, eight years old; rather wild and wilful. I

had decided to take her back to the Bureau, no matter what happened. She refused to be dressed and taken out of the house but when she found it had to be, she accepted the inevitable rather gracefully. On the ride back to the Bureau we pointed out to her the things that she had seen on Sunday but she recognized none of them. As soon as we arrived at the Bureau, she spoke to everybody whom she knew, giving them the "play names" as she called them, which Polly always used. I took her at once to her room, hoping to put her to sleep and wake her up as Norma, but she fell asleep of her own accord without hypnosis and in a few minutes awoke as Norma. She asked where she was and complained of a film over her eyes, which she said she had frequently. This was the end of the incident. We had no more Polly, though there was some somnambulism and a good deal of the Polly disposition in Norma.

It is clear now that the visit to our house was too much for Norma in her weakened condition. The novelty of everything, the unfamiliar scenes, coupled with the excessive fear that she would not behave properly, produced a situation that she could not long face. She showed this effect in her troubled sleep in the afternoon. That might or might not have been the only evidence, but the addition of two strangers to the party, later on, was more than she could stand and she fled from

reality and dropped back into something like the old life. We say "something like" because it was not the perfect Polly. It is impossible to analyze her performances. The whole situation seems to indicate that the general change which had come over her in recent weeks formed the basis for manifestations quite different from those she had formerly shown. The promptness with which she returned to her normal state as soon as she got back to her old familiar scenes is worthy of note.

The next few days show little variation except in minor details. She was always Norma but, as we have repeatedly stated, a composite in character. On Wednesday, while taking her nap, she fell out of bed on to the floor. Following our physician's advice, I left her on the floor and returned to my office. In a short time, she was in my office in a sleep-walking state. She called for "Daddy" and wanted to be taken home to "Mother." She did not want to stay in the hospital. I took her back to her room and she was soon asleep. When she awoke as Norma, she was very unhappy and told how much she missed her mother. I talked to her, and at a later awakening she was very happy. This illustrates her changing disposition during these days. I had told her earlier in the day that she could go to no more movies for some time, because they were too exciting for her. She took it very hard. Teased and argued.

About this time she got interested in our laboratory work and liked to help the various workers. Usually she would not stick to it very long, but was an excellent worker when she did. Things had to be explained to her only once and she could be fully trusted after that. On the evening of the ninth she spent three hours working with Mr. Rauch recording cases. She did excellent work. In these days I used hypnotic suggestion quite freely, giving her positive suggestion about sleep and other therapeutic measures.

As an illustration of some of her sleep-walking episodes, the following will serve. On Friday, *November 11*, she went to her room to take a nap. She heard one of the small boys crying and gave him one of her apples. He was crying for his mother. Norma said she wished she had a mother to cry for. She fell asleep in that state of mind; was restless, sat up in bed and called "Mother"; said, "Don't let daddy hurt me." When she seemed to be sleeping quietly, I returned to my office. A few minutes later she came in the front door of the building, walking in her sleep, and fell on the floor. She had run out of her room, out of doors in the rain, without shoes, around the laboratory and into the front door. She was taken to her room, her wet stockings were taken off and she was put to bed. In a few minutes she woke up perfectly naturally and said, "Did I sleep long

enough?" She was greatly surprised when told what had happened.

The following shows her Polly-like behavior during these days. On Saturday, *November 12*, she came to my office about four o'clock and teased to be allowed to go to the movies. I tried to show her that it was not good for her because it excited her. Norma in her right mind would always accept such suggestions very gracefully and nicely, but the present Norma with Polly leanings was like a spoiled child. All argument failed. She said she would run away; didn't care if she lived or died. Whenever I would tell her that she might go when she got well, she would declare that she was perfectly well. "Movies don't hurt me" and so on, for more than half an hour. I finally told her that I was sorry that she was making herself so unhappy but that I could not stay any longer as I had to go home. She did not answer me and I did not see her face, as she was sitting curled up in a chair. She was quiet when I left. It is probable that she had fallen asleep, since Mr. Rauch reported the next day that she was walking around the laboratory in her sleep after I left and that she finally fell in the cottage. She slept and woke up rather late for supper. She was all right after supper and tried several times to phone and tell me that she was sorry. This was also characteristic of her during these days. Polly rarely said

she was sorry but after the two personalities were blended it was not uncommon for Norma, when she came to herself, as we ordinarily say, to realize that she had been thoughtless or disagreeable, and to very politely apologize and say she was sorry.

The hypnotic treatments were continued and seemed to be helpful. One day after she woke, she said, "You must have helped me, for I feel better." Although she seldom mentioned it, unless questioned, she had considerable headache during this period and some indigestion. Her tongue was generally coated. During the next two or three days, if Polly appeared for a few minutes at a time, sometimes Norma would remember it afterward.

Sunday, the twentieth, Mrs. Goddard was with her in the afternoon when she took her nap. After she had slept half an hour, Mrs. Goddard woke her up as one would a normal person. This was the first time that any one had been able to waken her when she was asleep. This seemed to be another step toward normality.

As an illustration of the condition she was in and her hard struggle toward health, the following will serve. Sunday, the twentieth, Mrs. Goddard went to put her to bed at about eight o'clock in the evening. She was soon asleep, but after fifteen minutes began to be restless. She walked in

her sleep a little, was Polly for a few minutes, then went into catalepsy for a minute, again awoke as Polly, and finally at 9:30 seemed to be asleep for the night. We then left. She reports, however, that she awoke, heard us drive out of the grounds, and could not go to sleep until after 11:30, then slept until 7:30 the next morning. She was really suffering from acid indigestion. During this period we had many variations in her conduct. We have already noted some cases where we could not determine whether she was sleep-walking or whether it should be called a new personality.

One of the most marked of these occurred on Sunday, *November 27*. Mr. Rauch was in charge of her at the time and reports as follows:

She had fallen over about 6:30 and slept for about fifteen minutes. During that time she was very restless and repeatedly tried to get out of bed. At one time, she became very angry and striking at me madly, threatened to kill me. She went to sleep and awoke again as her normal self. She went back to the girls' side of the cottage and remained quietly there until bedtime. She went to bed and to sleep but soon sat up and insisted upon getting up. When we resisted her, she became violent. After struggling some little time, she awoke, but was different from any personality that I have noticed yet. She seemed to have the orientation of Norma but the mood and actions of Polly. She

called every one by their correct names, and recognized objects in the room. She was only semi-oriented as to Polly. She did not show the modesty that Norma would have shown.

Before it could be determined just what phase she was in, she fell asleep again, but soon began struggling and for nearly ten minutes she fought as fiercely as I have ever known her to do. She would strike and bite continually. It required two of us to restrain her to any extent at all. She quieted down and soon awoke as Polly, four years old. She called every one by their play names and did not know the colors. Tried to get her to writing but it was not successful beyond getting her to write the alphabet in code and writing a couple of names. After fifteen minutes of Polly, she fell asleep again and awoke shortly complaining that she had been given gas, because, as she says, she felt just as she did once before when she took gas. She was a poor quality of Norma when she first awoke but seemed to improve after being awake a while. It was 11:30 when she awoke as Norma. She fell asleep again and struggled once or twice and said that they should take "that" off her face, because she would not let them operate on her. In about ten minutes she quieted down and slept peacefully.

A transcript from the records summarizes the next few days; days in which she was entirely normal and happy.

Monday, November 28. Slept until 8 a. m. Not feeling well. Tried to work but could not keep to anything. Made mistakes counting up association scores. Was quiet and rather listless. Said she felt queer. Ate her dinner, and was ready for a nap. Put her under hypnosis, for positive suggestions. Awoke her promptly and allowed her to fall asleep for a nap. Her indigestion kept her restless for half an hour, when she awoke. She had walked in her sleep as far as the door; then fell. At 1:30 she agreed to go to sleep again if I would awaken her at 2:30 or 3:00. She slept quietly this time. At 2:30 she was still sleeping: had not changed her position. I left her until 3:00, when I awoke her naturally. She was, however, very sleepy and though she said she would not sleep any more, soon fell asleep and slept until about 4:00 when she walked in her sleep. She said she was "going to the party." She went around the laboratory and came into the front door, where she fell in the front hall. We took her over to her bed and she awoke in about three minutes and got ready for supper, as normal as ever. Indigestion still troubles her. I stopped the bromides today.

Tuesday, November 29. Rather a bad day. She has not felt well. Short nap. In evening hysteria among girls seemed to excite her and she "fell" to awake as Polly 1 hr. 35 min. I returned to Bureau after 9 p. m., quieted other girls and put Polly to bed. After some struggling she slept and cried for several minutes; called, "Daddy, do not

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let my other daddy hurt me." After a time slept and awoke normal. Asked "how did I come here?" Said "the last I remember I was knitting." (This had been about 7 p. m.) She slept until 7:30 and awoke as Polly. She said she would go to bathroom and then return and go to sleep. But before she got back she "fell." Once more awoke as Norma and then slept for the night. Some of her struggles while asleep after the Polly phase were very violent. The indigestion is still bad.

Wednesday, November 30. A good day. Last night before her final sleep she was very sorry I had been obliged to come to the Bureau after supper on her account and that "mother" was sick from worrying about her. She promised to try hard to get well so as not to be a trouble to us. To-day she has carried out these promises. A nice nap (though short) and a ride in the auto. In the evening Mr. Rauch took her to a movie. She was quiet and came home and went to bed without further incidents.

Thursday, December 1. A good day. Afternoon nap about an hour; very quiet. Scored a dozen literacy tests. Went to bed and slept soundly.

Friday, December 2. Very quiet and normal. Ate moderate dinner. At my suggestion did not eat her dessert. Wanted her nap immediately after dinner. Said she was very tired. In hypnosis suggested back would not ache any more. Five minutes after being awakened she said, "My back feels better." Went to sleep naturally and after a

few hiccoughs slept quietly from about 1:15 to 4 o'clock. Said she felt better. Came to laboratory and met Mrs. P——. We took ten-minute ride and she went to supper quite happy.

It was late in the evening that the next great excitement occurred. That will be related in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX

A THIRD PERSONALITY

The reader is prepared by this time, as we were, for almost any kind of strange procedure on Norma's part. Nevertheless, we were not prepared for the following events. Mrs. Dern, who was present, reports as follows:

Norma went to bed Friday night, but did not sleep. About midnight she was playing with pencil and paper. At 12:35 she wrote: "I think I am going to get better to-night." What state of personality she was in at this time is uncertain—perhaps a dream. At 12:40 a.m. she began rubbing her eyes and called "Mrs. Caldwell!" then said, "I must get up and go to school." Still rubbing eyes, said, "I can't get my eyes open." Opened eyes and said, "Am I in a hospital? Where am I? Who are you?" Mr. Rauch introduced himself and Mrs. Dern. She then said, "I must be in a hospital because the walls are all white. I never wanted to be in a hospital, but here I awake and find myself in one. I never was in one before. I must write and tell my mother." She asked what town she was in, and when Mrs. Dern said, "Columbus," she was very much surprised and said that she had

never been in Columbus before. She said she was in the first year of high school, had seven brothers and sisters, smallest one was two years old, and she was sixteen herself. Enjoyed going to school and told of her different studies. Wanted to know where she got the sweater she was wearing, and where the red hat and coat came from. She had never seen any of those things before. Never had seen her ring or pin before. She was surprised that she had all these different articles. Said she wore her hair different from the way it was dressed. Looked in the mirror and said, "I look different than usual." Complained of not feeling well, but did not want to get up. Mr. Rauch told her she had been for an automobile ride and she said she remembered nothing about the ride; thanking us just the same for it. Wanted to know what was the matter with her that she didn't remember any of these things. Wondered if she had been sleeping all of this time.

I told her we were trying to get the Doctor over the phone, and she asked if he was a prominent doctor and who he was. Said she had never heard of Dr. Goddard. Had never heard of any of the people that we have mentioned.

Went to sleep and awoke in a few minutes as Polly.

That the reader may understand this and the following account, we will describe the situation as it seemed to us at the time. Here was a new de-

velopment indeed. Just what it signified we could not make out but in the course of the next few days it shaped up in our minds something as follows: In October, 1918, the girl whom we have been calling Norma was attending high school. One night she went to sleep as usual and slept for three years and six weeks, and now she has just waked up again.

At last we had the real Norma. The Norma with whom we had been working for the past weeks and months was herself an abnormal personality: the result of the disease which seized her three years ago. To distinguish this new personality from the others we decided to call her Louise. Just as Norma had given way to Polly so many times during the past weeks, so three years before Louise gave place to Norma and Norma was no more the true individual than Polly.

To Louise the past three years were absolutely blank and try as we would we could never catch her in any inconsistency; she was far more like a young lady of nineteen than Norma had ever been, although she declared she was only sixteen. She was a perfect patient, always ready to accept our slightest suggestion; to eat what we wished her to, to refrain from eating what we thought was not good for her, to remain quietly in bed as long as we desired; in short, to do anything that we should dictate. She did not understand why she

was sick and hoped that she would be out in a few days so that she could go back to school. She knew nothing of Polly or Norma and when told about them and their peculiarities was not only surprised but often shocked. Her very countenance and voice were different from Norma's, her face was more relaxed, and her voice more gentle and more smooth. She was quiet as contrasted with Norma's nervousness; she wished to rest whereas Norma craved excitement. From all these facts we were quite satisfied at that time that Louise was the true individual and that henceforth our efforts must be exerted to establish the Louise personality to the exclusion of Norma as well as Polly.

There were a few facts that puzzled us but we did not think at that time that they would overthrow the whole point of view. We were undoubtedly somewhat swept off our feet by the strangeness of the thought that here we were face to face with an individual who had fallen asleep three years before and had just waked up, having existed in the meantime as a personality which on account of the circumstances of her life had been mistaken for the true person. Here was not only Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, but Rip Van Winkle. We shall see later how much of this was true and how much was erroneous, and the unraveling of this problem will throw a flood of light upon many of

the situations not only of her existence but of similar situations in perhaps all of us.

We will now continue the diary that the reader may see what happened day by day and how we were doomed to disappointment until the time came when we began to see things in their true light and our disappointment gave way to a better understanding of the true situation.

The next day, *Saturday, December 3*, our patient awoke as Norma, ate her breakfast and came to the laboratory and while comfortably seated in a rocking chair in Mrs. D——'s office fell asleep. In a few minutes she awoke and was Louise. I was called in and introduced to her, she at once asked if I was the doctor they were trying to get by telephone last night. Two or three other persons whom Norma knew intimately came in and were introduced to Louise. She asked where she was; she looked out of the window and saw the other buildings and asked if that was where she was last night. After a few minutes of this she again fell asleep, her head resting on the back of the chair. When she did not wake up after some little time and it appeared as though she might sleep for an hour or more we decided to take her to her room where she could sleep comfortably. This was done but she was no sooner placed comfortably upon her own bed than she began to awaken and presently Louise was with us again. This time she kept

awake for fifty minutes. She discussed her situation, asked about Norma and Polly, but denied all memory of the last three years. I asked her when she left school. She replied, "I haven't left school, I am still going to school. Will I not be able to go back in a day or two?"

We had just ordered her dinner when she fell asleep. In a few minutes she awoke as Norma. When told about Louise she seemed very happy. (Norma has always been pleased to learn that she has been Louise for a time.)

Norma ate dinner in her room; then went to the laboratory. At two she returned to the cottage for her nap. I asked her if she would like me to put her to sleep and wake her up as Louise, as she had been last night. She said yes, but doubted if I could. I told her I could and asked her if she believed me. She replied, "If you say you can, I suppose you can," and as she finished the sentence she fell asleep. It was 2:15. She slept until 3:10, the quietest sleep I have ever seen her have. She was so perfectly relaxed that her jaw dropped. This had never occurred before. She hardly moved. She awoke the usual Norma and was very happy. After some conversation she dropped to sleep at about 3:20. About 3:30 she awoke and again slept for a few minutes. I again suggested that I put her to sleep and awaken her as Louise. She consented. When I had put her to sleep I told

her that I would talk to Louise. But when I asked her name she said "Norma"; her age, "nineteen"; My name, "Dr. Goddard." I then told her to close her eyes and I would awaken her as Louise who lived with the Caldwells and went to school. She awoke slowly (as Louise does) at 3:50. When awake she asked "Am I going to have some dinner?" (When as Louise she fell asleep we had just ordered her dinner.) I did not want to tell her that Norma had already eaten her dinner, so evaded the question. Asked how she felt, she replied "very well." I told her she had had a strange experience and I would tell her about it when she was stronger. Now I would tell her only a little. She said the last thing she remembered before last night was when she was living at the Caldwells and going to school—in October, 1918. Her mother had gone to the sanatorium and she herself had flu a short time before. She asked if her mother was still at the sanatorium and I said, "No." She asked, "Where is she?" I said I had never seen her mother. Then I explained to her that the October which she remembered was 1918 and it was now December, 1921. She asked if she had been asleep all that time. "Yes, so far as you are concerned, but to us you have been awake and living a regular life except that at times you have been 'Polly' " (here I explained briefly about Polly). She was naturally much surprised and

said she must have done queer things. Her attitude toward me was reserved, as though I were an entire stranger whom she was meeting for the first time. Everything was strange to her. She saw her coat hanging from the hook and asked whose it was. When told it was hers, she asked where she got it. She again asked about her mother. Once she said, "Poor Mother, she has not seen me for three years—all the time I have been asleep." At four o'clock she dropped asleep and in a few minutes awoke as Norma; got up and went to the laboratory. When told that I had wakened her as her "real self," she seemed very happy. We took a short ride and she went to supper.

Louise has no recollection of having lived with the woman who frightened her. She remembers the Brandts and says Betty Jane is almost two years old. She asked about her other brothers and sisters.

Sunday, December 4. At ten o'clock her aunt and uncle came to see her. They stayed until twelve o'clock. She entertained them quite normally. At lunch she was fairly quiet. When she went for her nap she dropped asleep before I could get her attention. She slept from 1:30 to 2:50, when she awoke as Louise. She wakens to the Louise stage *very slowly*. Mr. Rauch was present. When half awake she said, "Where am I?" Mr. R. answered, "Still in the hospital." When fully

awake she said, "Can I have my dinner?" (She referred to our plan for her yesterday's dinner.)

I said, "Are you hungry?"

"Not very. Have I been asleep long?"

"Since yesterday."

"It is all so queer!"

"Yes, you have had a strange experience. I will tell you about it when you are stronger."

"Tell me now."

"Well, I will tell you a little. Do you remember living in Cleveland?"

"I was never in Cleveland in my life."

"Do you remember living with an old lady?"

"I never did."

"How old is Betty Jane?"

"Almost two."

I then narrated briefly the principal events of the past three years. She had absolutely no memory for anything since October, 1918. When I had finished, I again tested her. She said, "I do not remember any of it."

"Some day I will put you to sleep and tell you to remember, and when you wake you will be able to remember everything."

"How can you do it?"

I explained carefully but for some time she could not understand it, though Norma and Polly had been hypnotized many times. She finally said, "How strange."

I said, "Would you like me to do it now?"

"Yes."

She went into hypnosis a little more slowly than usual, but as usual was a good subject. After giving the suggestions for memory, I woke her. Asked how she felt she replied "Oh, I can remember everything."

"Do you remember Cleveland?"

"Yes."

"Where did you live?"

"At Dr. P——'s."

"Where else?" "At Mrs. A——'s."

"What did you do at Mrs. A——'s?"

"Took care of the little boy two years old, Jimmie—James was his name."

"Do you remember this place (Bureau of Juvenile research)?"

"Yes."

"My office?"

"Yes. And I remember all the bad and foolish things I have done, too."

"Do not let that trouble you. You have done nothing *bad* and as for the *strange* things, we all understand that you have not been yourself."

She remembered her aunt and relatives who called Sunday.

Monday, December 5. Awoke as Norma. Forenoon about as usual except that she slept for an hour. Afternoon she dropped to sleep at 2:15 and awoke as Norma at 3:40. Just before she went to sleep she asked if she might have some candy. I told her Mr. Rauch might get her some in the evening. She exclaimed "Goody!" and instantly fell

asleep. When she awoke at 3:40 I tried to persuade her to let me put her to sleep and awaken her as Louise, her real self. She objected.

I said, "It will help make you well."

"I don't care whether I get well or not."

I looked sorrowful. She saw it at once and exclaimed "Oh, Daddy, I didn't mean it." She thereupon threw herself on the bed, face down, and was asleep at once. After several minutes she began to waken as Louise. Said, "Do I have to get up now?" I said, "No." She then turned over in bed and in a few minutes was wide awake as Louise. When her eyes fell on me she said,

"How do you do? How long have I slept this time?"

"Since yesterday—yesterday noon, wasn't it?"

She replied, "No, it was evening. You were not here. There was a lady (describing Mrs. Dern) who works here, I think, and another lady."

She talked to me and I found she had lost not only her memory for the three years but even for the Louise awakenings, except the first one. The effect of the hypnotic suggestion had not lasted. All was as blank as the first time she awoke. I again explained some of the events of the three years and tested her out in various ways. Asked if she would like to get up she said, "No." At about 4:30 she fell asleep and soon awoke as Polly, four years. She called Mrs. Dern "Mother," and would be quiet only when Mrs. Dern had her arms about her. She slept and waked twice and then awoke as

Norma and was quiet all evening. She had a warm bath and went to bed, sleeping quietly all night.

Tuesday, December 6. Forenoon rather restless and noisy Polly-Norma. Nap at 2:55. I put her to sleep and awakened her as Louise. At first she was rather quiet and drowsy but soon quite wide awake and interested. No memory for past three years. I again told her some of her experiences, and asked her several questions. She was quiet and reserved but more cheerful and seemed more at home than on former occasions. I showed her her picture. She asked who took it and when she learned that her picture had been in the paper she covered her face with both hands and said "Oh!" as though much embarrassed. I explained that it was all right and she must not be troubled by it. I asked if she enjoyed movies. She said, "Yes, quite well." She was not enthusiastic about them. Asked if she cared to go to movies every night she said, "Oh, dear no." I asked if she liked excitement or preferred quiet life, she said "About medium." Evidently her love of movies and excitement is a function of her nervous breakdown. She recognized Miss B—— from her picture but said she had never seen her. Was introduced to Dr. Sharp, Miss T——, Mrs. McF.—— none of whom she "had ever seen," although they were well known to Norma. After an hour of pleasant conversation she quietly dropped asleep. She wanted no supper but later consented to have a slice of toast and cup of tea sent up. She was

somewhat "blue" and despondent but cheered up and by 5:30 she was quite herself as Norma.

Wednesday, December 7. A Norma-Polly day. A half hour nap in forenoon. One hour nap in afternoon. Refused to be put to sleep and wake as Louise. She said she was well as she was: "Louise is sedate and has no fun." She has not been feeling well all day.

Thursday, December 8. Yesterday afternoon after taking Norma to ride, I left early to go home, telling her that she must not be discouraged but must realize that her "sickness" was responsible for her not feeling so well, and that tomorrow she would probably feel all right. She seemed to cheer up and promised that she would be happy in the evening and go to bed early and get a good night's sleep. Mr. Rauch reports this morning that she fell asleep at the supper table and after being taken to her room awakened as Polly and later as Norma, but finally went to sleep fairly early, and slept quietly all night, waking for breakfast this morning.

I reached the laboratory a little after nine. Shortly after that, Norma came into Mr. Rauch's office, where I was, and seemed to be in her usual condition: rather quiet and considerate. Said she had been cleaning her room thoroughly and was now going to press her skirt. I told her that Mrs. Goddard and Mrs. B—— would be here before long and I wanted her to be ready to receive them. A little before eleven they arrived and we went

over to the cottage. While looking around the hospital Norma came up from downstairs and met them very nicely and talked pleasantly to Mrs. B——.

After a time I asked her if she would be willing to let me put her to sleep, as Mrs. Goddard was very anxious to see her go to sleep and wake up as Louise. She evidently did not want to do it, but consented gracefully. I quickly put her to sleep and, after positive suggestions of health improvement, wakened her as Louise. I introduced Mrs. Goddard as my wife and Louise said she did not know that I had a wife. I also introduced Mrs. B——. They talked to her quite a little, Mrs. Goddard sat down on the edge of the bed and talked to her and she responded very naturally. Mrs. Goddard kissed her and she threw her arms around her neck and seemed greatly pleased to be made so much of. Mrs. Goddard told her among other things about the day Norma spent at our house. There was considerable to arouse emotional excitement and Louise seemed more aroused than we have ever seen her. She talked about herself quite a little and how strange it was that she did not remember the events of the past three years. After perhaps twenty minutes (this had begun at about eleven o'clock) I felt that we were tiring her perhaps too much and I suggested that we should take our leave. I had sent for Mrs. Dern in the meantime and Louise was very glad to see her. We all started to leave the room and had hardly

gotten outside the door when Louise fell asleep. We then stood in the doorway waiting to see what would happen.

In two or three minutes she awakened as Polly, four years old, and when she saw Mrs. Goddard, made one bound towards the foot of the bed and called her "mother" and "dear mother" and insisted on hugging and kissing her vigorously. When Mrs. B—— was introduced she said "No, I must give her a name." After thinking a moment she called her "Josephine" and insisted on hugging and kissing her. She was the usual Polly, commenting on Mrs. B's dress, her jewelry, misnaming the colors of things, and doing all the other little things so characteristic of this stage. Finally I insisted that Mrs. Goddard had to go, whereupon she made a great outcry, she "would not let her go," etc. After one or two attempts we said that Mrs. Goddard must make her train and very reluctantly Polly allowed them to depart. We closed the door and in a few minutes Mrs. Dern succeeded in getting Polly to lie down and go to sleep. She was quite restless and finally sat up in bed and seemed about to get out of bed. I sat down on the edge and took hold of her, gently restraining her, as I have often done. She threw herself across my lap and collapsed, sound asleep.

After a time she rolled over on her back and lay there with her head in my lap, sleeping quietly. I was about to place her head back on the pillow when I noticed that she was about to wake up. She

did so, rather slowly and I suspected that she was to wake as Louise, which proved true. She looked at Mrs. Dern and smiled and turned her head and caught sight of me. Evidently she realized where she was, and with the excited expression, "Good-night!" she threw herself away from me and back on to the bed. In much confusion and embarrassment she blushinglly hid her face in the pillow. Mrs. Dern told her that she need not feel embarrassed, as there was nothing wrong. She slowly recovered her composure and talked with Mrs. Dern. I left the room, suggesting to her that she could get ready and go down to dinner if she liked. She seem pleased at the idea, and said she would. I was detained for twenty minutes. When I returned Mrs. Dern reported that she had fallen asleep ten minutes after I left and wakened up promptly as Norma. As I arrived she was just putting on her shoes to go down to dinner.

At dinner she was what we consider a "low-grade" Norma. She was quite loud and boisterous; very different from what she had been early in the forenoon. I left her at the table when I was through dinner, and while I was over at the office Mrs. Dern sent for Mr. Dern because Polly had returned and was hard to manage. She had fallen asleep in the dining-room and had to be taken to her room. A little later Mr. Dern was wanted in the office and I went to relieve him. I found her with her arms clasped around him, insisting that he could not go. I released him in spite of her vio-

lent protest and loud declarations that she would not let him go. She struggled with me a moment, but even before Mr. Dern got out of the room she had fallen asleep. I covered her up and waited a few moments. She awoke as Norma and her first words were "I want my dinner." I asked her if she did not remember that she had had her dinner, she said no, she had been asleep; that I had put her to sleep when Mrs. Goddard and Mrs. B—— came and she had just waked up. This was a surprise to me, as we had thought that we had the normal Norma several times since that event, but evidently she was Polly when we thought her Norma and this was the first time she had waked up as Norma.

She was quiet now and said that she was feeling rather tired. I told her that she would probably feel better in a few minutes. She asked if she had better take her nap and I said "yes." Whereat she composed herself and was soon sound asleep. She seemed to be quiet and I went out and closed the door. I had not been in my office long before I heard that she was out. I got outside in time to find that Mr. Rauch had picked her up. She had walked in her sleep over to the southeast corner of the laboratory and had fallen. When we arrived with her at the room we placed her on the bed. She slept with only one or two turnings for about an hour, when she awakened as Norma and asked if she had slept long enough. I suggested that she might sleep longer, but when she found she had

slept an hour she was not willing to sleep any more. When she waked up, Mr. Rauch was sitting on the edge of a chair on the back of which some dresses were hung. When she got up she picked up the dresses and thinking that they were mussed from his sitting on them, acted quite like Polly for an instant, throwing the dresses on the bed in much disgust and complaining that they were all wrinkled and that she would have to iron them again. But she regained her composure rather quickly, still complaining somewhat mildly that she would have to do the work over again.

My comment at the time was as follows: The whole experience had been instructive. I have the feeling at the present writing that the abnormal actions are due to the fact that I waked her up as Louise, and the presence of the company was too exciting for her; exhausting her energy unduly, with the result that she fell into a lower state than usual. The fact that she remembered nothing from the time that she fell asleep in hypnosis until she waked up after lunch about one o'clock, having in the meantime passed through two or three stages when we thought she was usual Norma, is rather surprising. I am inclined to think, as I have concluded several times, that the whole matter is a question of nerve exhaustion and that we shall not get anything approaching normal behavior until the nervous system is so far recuperated as to be able to innervate the entire brain and have energy enough to stimulate the association centers

whereby she will easily control her actions. She says she is going to the movies to-night and wants to go to Keith's on Saturday. Whether this will cause a commotion or whether she will get control and we will be able to dissuade her from this, remains to be seen. At three o'clock she is behaving quite normally.

Friday, December 9, 1921. Nothing unusual during the day. After supper, about six o'clock, I hypnotized her, gave her the suggestions of health and improvement and awakened her. At 6:05 she fell asleep naturally. She was somewhat restless for a few minutes, called "mother," once, then slept quietly. There was a much disturbed patient in the next room who had been crying loudly before Norma went to sleep. Norma was full of sympathy for her and I feared it would influence her sleep, but it did not seem to. At 6:30 she rolled off the bed on to the floor and awakened as Polly. She called for "mother," then saw me and asked where "mother" was. Heard the nurse pass the door and called to her until she was out of hearing, then settled down and slept peacefully at 6:37. At 6:50 she awoke, got up and was wide awake but at 6:55 slept again.

Saturday, December 10. Hypnotized Norma at 3:15, awoke her as Louise at 3:30. She then took a ride and returned at 4:30. We talked for about a half hour, about her case and her prospects. Then the following conversation occurred:

She said, "Do you know what I would like, but I ought not ask it."

I replied, "Yes, what is it?"

She said, "I would like to go to the show but if you don't think I'd better it is all right."

I told her I did not think it would be best. This is interesting as showing a Norma-Louise mixture. The interest in the show is decidedly Norma-like, but her diffidence in asking the question and her saying that if I did not think best, it was all right, and her final acceptance of my decision was a perfect Louise. The Norma of a few weeks ago would have argued and rebelled.

After a little, Louise said, "Where is Mother?" It will be recalled that her mother had died after the time at which Louise was supposed to have fallen asleep, from which sleep she had recently awakened. Therefore she did not know that her mother was dead. To her question, I replied, "I would rather not tell you about her now." She then asked if she were worse. She knew that her mother had gone to the sanatorium with tuberculosis. I answered, again, "I do not want to tell you about her. Come, let's go to sleep for a half hour and then have some supper in the room." She said, "All right, Daddy. O! I forgot, excuse me."

This was another curious blending of the two personalities. The four-year-old Polly, besides calling me "Sarah," had adopted me as her "Daddy No. 2." I had humored the child by en-

couraging this and when the Polly-Norma union came about, Norma had also adopted the habit of calling me "Daddy." But Louise had never done so, although I had told her that it was Norma's habit and that she was at liberty to adopt it if she chose. At that time she had smiled as though it were partly a joke, and certainly a liberty which she would not take for a long time. Here she had slipped into it but quickly corrected herself and said, "O! I forgot, excuse me." This might perhaps be explained on the ground that Norma was playing a part and that Louise was wholly an assumed character. Knowing the tricks of hysteria, we were always watching closely for this, and while we found several little items like this one, which did seem highly suspicious, yet the great mass of the evidence is wholly against any such conclusion. No one who actually saw Louise through two or three of her manifestations could by any possibility believe that it was put on. There is, however, a good deal of evidence for a certain overlapping of the different consciousnesses whereby one of the personalities is more or less influenced, perhaps unconsciously to herself, by the experiences of the other personality, as in this case. Louise did not know me well enough to call me "Daddy" but a certain overflow, so to speak, of the Norma experience led her to reply, "All right, Daddy," as Norma herself would have done; and then the Louise situation reasserted itself and she said, "O! I forgot, excuse me."

As stated, she fell asleep at 5:10 and then a peculiar thing happened. She carried on a conversation with herself in her sleep which also showed the blending of the two personalities guided evidently by our recent conversation and perhaps giving expression to thoughts which Louise herself had suppressed. It ran something like this: "Mother, you will let me go to the show, won't you? He won't let me go to the show and you will. He wouldn't tell me where you were. I don't like this old hospital. I want to go home. They won't let you do nothing. Mother we'll have a good time, won't we? Yes, I am going, wait until I get my hat. We'll see something nice. I won't take him along though. Sure I want to be happy, yes I do. O! I am so happy because I can go."

Then she awoke as Louise, ate her supper in her room and came to the laboratory, read awhile, played cards, and amused herself until nine o'clock. Then we went to the cottage and I said, "I will now say good-night." She said, "Wait until I come back." She went out of the room and a few minutes later I heard her fall, out in the ward. She soon awoke as Norma and later as Polly, finally went to sleep for the night at eleven o'clock. Another peculiarity of the talking in the sleep just described was that she passed into this condition from the Louise state and back to the Louise state without any noticeable change such as falling or sleeping or waking up. She simply began talking in the way indicated and the only

way we knew that she was talking in her sleep was that she was so oblivious to all of her surroundings. She paid no attention to anything we said, did not answer our questions or interrupt her conversation.

Sunday, December 11. She was the usual Norma during the forenoon. Came to the laboratory and worked a little on association tests but was very unsettled and irritable; was very angry and used strong language because I asked her not to read my notes on her case. She also used unbecoming language at the table, and finally when the conversation of those at the table drifted into topics that did not interest her, she fell asleep. She was a low-grade Norma all the rest of the day and evening.

Monday, December 12. Norma seemed so unsettled that we began a new isolation experiment and kept her in her room all day and as quiet as possible. In the afternoon, Dr. Emerick called. She came out of her room and after speaking to us, but not getting much attention, she fell on the floor of the ward. We did not pick her up but let her lie as she fell and in five minutes she got up as Polly. I made her go back to bed, and when she struggled, held her until she slept. Soon after that she awakened as Norma. In the evening she was quite herself again.

Tuesday, December 13. She was fairly quiet in her room all day. No falls; no Polly. She went to bed early and slept well.

Wednesday, December 14. Same as yesterday until 3:15 when I hypnotized her and wakened her as Louise. In a few minutes, put her to sleep again and told her when she wakened she would have all her memories for the past three years. Awakened her and while she claimed to be Louise she had all of her memories for the past three years and consequently was very much like Norma in appearance and conversation. About 4:30 she fell asleep naturally and shortly afterward wakened up as the real Norma. During the evening she was a very nice Norma. She went to bed alone at 10 p. m. She reports that she was awake from 3 to 5 a. m. and then slept until about 10:30 Thursday morning.

Thursday, December 15. After lunch I locked the door to the hospital. This worried her very much and she was unhappy until supper time. She fell asleep for awhile in the evening and at 10:30 had an attack of hiccoughs. She went to sleep finally at 11:30 for the night. From Friday the sixteenth to Monday the nineteenth, inclusive, she was a thoroughly satisfactory Norma without any incidents whatever.

Tuesday, December 20. I talked with her about the desirability of sending her away to a sanatorium where perhaps they could cure her faster than we were doing. At three o'clock I put her under hypnosis and awakened her as Louise but without her memory for the past three years. She seemed to be a perfect Louise until ten o'clock, when she went to bed. She played Fan Tan during

the evening and enjoyed herself thoroughly. Said she wished she could remember, but I told her it would all come back to her in time.

Wednesday, December 21. She awoke as Norma but seemed quite different from usual. After lunch, when we went to her room for her nap, she told me that she remembered the Louise of yesterday and all she had done and said. I said "Do you remember playing Fan Tan in the evening?" She said, "Yes, Louise did not know how to play Fan Tan." So that here again was an instance in which the Norma experience came into evidence and Louise played Fan Tan with Norma's knowledge of the game. When I tested her memory I found she did remember all of Louise's experiences of the previous day. About three o'clock I put her to sleep and awakened her as Louise but without suggestion that she would remember the past three years. She did remember it all, however. She was a perfect Louise all the rest of the day and in the evening played Fan Tan until ten o'clock. Slept well all night.

Thursday, December 22. She seemed to be a perfectly splendid Norma-Louise. In the evening the Norma personality so far dominated as to make her want to go to the movies. But after some persuasion she gave it up of her own accord and played cards all the evening. Slept normally but not very well.

Friday, December 23. Perfectly normal all day. Some headache in the afternoon. Slept only fifteen

minutes. Said she did not feel quite as much awake as yesterday.

The next three days were busy ones. Full of excitement of the Christmas holidays, and although our patient seemed in the best of condition she very naturally overworked. On Monday afternoon, as a special holiday privilege, she went to the movies, and at six o'clock that evening the break came. She fell asleep and slept for forty-five minutes and awoke as Polly. Remained Polly until ten o'clock during which time she was cataleptic, anesthetic, sleep-walking and finally went to sleep for the night as Polly.

She was kept in her room for the next three days. The rest and quiet of her room quickly restored her to her normal condition and she was a mixture of Norma and Louise until January 9, when, about nine in the evening she fell over and slept for forty-five minutes, to awake as Louise. After twenty minutes she fell asleep and awoke as Polly, but changed to high-grade Norma after about three minutes; after twenty minutes more went to sleep for the night.

Tuesday, January 10. Norma was rather excited all day. At about four o'clock she lay down for a nap and woke in a few minutes as Louise. Her head ached badly. After ten minutes she slept and awoke as Norma. We talked over the plan of my hypnotizing her regularly and waking her up as Louise as much as possible. She was not very enthusiastic about it but agreed to the plan.

Wednesday, January 11. Norma was rather excited all day. Went to bed at 9:10, having fallen in the ward at this time. She soon awoke as Polly. The nurse finally got her to sleep and later she awoke as Louise and undressed and went to bed. She slept well until six o'clock next morning.

Thursday, January 12. When the nurse closed the windows in the morning, she was awake as Louise. She soon slept and awoke about 8:30 as Norma. At 10:30 we began carrying out the plan previously arranged to put her to sleep and wake her as Louise. She kept awake until twelve o'clock, when she fell asleep and woke up in two minutes as Norma and went down to dinner. She was quite wild at dinner time. At 1:10 she was put under hypnosis again with the suggestion to sleep one-half hour and wake as Louise. At 1:15 I woke her as Louise by merely calling to her in her sleep. She was very nice all the afternoon. At 4:40 she slept and at 5:10 awoke as Norma and went to supper, somewhat excited. Whenever she was Louise during the day she was content to lie on the bed and rest. Her head ached a little.

Friday, January 13. Put her to sleep at 2:00 and awoke her at 3:00 as Louise. She said she would try and keep awake until after supper and then go to bed, but at 4:40, while eating ice-cream she fell asleep and awoke in two minutes as Norma. I told her I wanted her to have her supper in her room. She objected. Finally I told her she might

go down to supper but to-morrow she would eat in her room. She was very angry and railed about me very much during the supper period.

Saturday, January 14. She was very sullen and had little to say to me, but after a talk she said, "Daddy, I am going to do as you want me to." At 12:15 I put her to sleep and woke her as Louise at 12:45. To my surprise she had all her memory, but was Louise. This without any suggestion on my part. At 3:00 p.m. she went to the movies, *The Little Minister*; came back for supper; in the evening read the paper and played cards until nine, then went to bed but was so tired she could not sleep until 10:00. She slept until 7:00 the next morning. She had been a perfect Louise throughout the afternoon and evening.

Sunday, January 15. She awoke naturally as Louise and got up about seven o'clock. Was quiet all the morning, very nice at lunch and in the afternoon read the Sunday papers. A little after 2:00 went to her room for a nap. She fell asleep naturally and one could not tell just when she became unconscious. Her sleep was also natural. At 3:30 I went over and called, "Louise." She awoke slowly; said she thought she was waking up in the morning. After a few minutes she slept again for about a half hour. She seemed absolutely normal. I told her that as long as she was as well as to-day she could do whatever she wished, but that whenever she got excited she must stay in her room. She accepted it nicely.

For the next two months things went on very quietly, there being nothing especially worthy of note. She was Norma all the time but without much energy or ambition. Wanted to work and help us in the laboratory, and did somewhat, but did not seem to have the energy to make herself stick to the work. Sometimes she would work pretty well for two or three hours, at other times only for a few minutes, and for days at a time seemed to want to do almost nothing but sit around, except to take care of her room and her clothing. She was always faithful and particular about this. Some days she was a little excited, but never changed consciousness. On February 2, she had a peculiar spell in the evening, in which she was probably in a sort of sleep-walking state. Again, on March 6, she had a peculiar attack of a similar nature. On March 17, she had a bad attack in the evening. She had retired at 9:30 and at 9:45 began walking in her sleep. She did not become quiet until 11:35. During this time she was very violent for a part of the time and had to be restrained; at other times she was crying and evinced great terror. In one period, she was seized with catalepsy. At 11:35 she went to sleep quietly and slept until morning. The next day was all right. March 23, she had three mild spells in the evening, which were probably expressions of

active dreams. On the twenty-first she fell asleep after breakfast and slept until nine o'clock, a very unusual thing for her.

April 1. She fell asleep and talked at random for about three-quarters of an hour in the morning, two hours and a half in the afternoon and four hours and a quarter in the evening. These peculiar attacks occurred almost daily for the next two weeks: for instance, on April 2, they lasted from 10:30 to 12:00 p. m.; on April 3 there was a slight spell in the morning but she was very nice all the rest of the day and at night. On the fourth, however, she was extremely bad from 9:50 until 10:50. On the fifth she had a spell in the morning but was very normal the rest of the day and that night.

April 7. Went to sleep at 5:20 and was very like Polly, if not Polly herself, until eight in the evening, then slept until 3:30 a. m., when she got up and went to the nurse again in a Polly-like condition though apparently not true Polly. The nurse got her to sleep and she slept until six in the morning, when she awoke as Norma. It seems probable that much of this was a peculiar active sleep-walking. On April 8, she had a moderate spell after dinner. That night she fell asleep at 8:15 and slept soundly until the next morning. On April 9, Sunday, she was still worse and with the exception of an hour at supper time and about ten minutes in the evening she was not herself all

day; partly sleeping, partly crying, partly behaving like a little baby.

On *April 10*, she was again Polly-like, the greater part of the afternoon and evening. On *April 11*, afternoon and evening, she was again abnormal. Part of the time she behaved like a conscious individual but knew no one, not even the nurse whom as Polly she called "mother" and always clung to. She said to her, "Who are you and what are you interfering with my affairs for?" On *April 12*, she seemed very weak all day, fell several times and went to sleep as Polly, but slept pretty well all night.

Thursday morning she got up feeling very well. She was to go to Grant Hospital in the afternoon to have her tonsils removed. We had talked about this for several weeks and she was very anxious to have it done, nevertheless it is possible that there was some anxiety connected with it, which may possibly have accounted for some of the disturbance in the days just recorded. After lunch on this day (Thursday), I had to drive to the University with a friend who was visiting the laboratory. I wanted Norma to go with us, partly for the ride and partly thinking it would take her mind off the operation, but she refused to go. I insisted rather more strongly probably than I should have done and she finally yielded, but in the next minute fell flat to the floor. She awakened as Norma, however, and although somewhat nerv-

ous the rest of the afternoon, when it came time to get ready to go to the hospital she pulled herself together and made her arrangements as any normal woman would. When we arrived at her room in the hospital she looked around and said, "Why this is not as bad as I thought it was going to be." Our own nurse was with her and records that she was very normal all the evening. She went to sleep early so as to get a good rest for the operation in the morning.

Friday, April 14. The operation was at nine o'clock and in less than an hour she had recovered from the ether. She had very little discomfort and was as good a patient as one could ask for. She slept well that night. The next morning she awoke feeling very well and Dr. Brown said she could go home that afternoon, but at eleven o'clock she woke up as Polly and was a very excited Polly for forty-five minutes. Then she again slept and awoke as Norma. She came home at about three, and at four was again Polly. This condition lasted until ten o'clock that night.

On the sixteenth, she was not herself from one until four in the afternoon and from five until ten in the evening.

On the seventeenth, she had spells lasting from 11:00 until 2:00, from 5:30 until 7:30, and from 8:45 until 10:00 in the evening. The next four days were highly satisfactory.

On April 22, she had a bad evening from 8:30

until 10:45. She was crying and laughing and cataleptic by turns; walking and quarreling and sleeping.

Sunday, April 23, she was perfectly normal all day.

Monday, the twenty-fourth, was also satisfactory but Tuesday she was in all stages of Polly from immediately after breakfast until eleven o'clock, with very short intervals of normality.

The next four days were also entirely satisfactory.

On May 1, she fell asleep about six in the evening and was Polly practically all evening.

May 2. Satisfactory.

May 3. Rather bad in the morning.

The next few days were entirely satisfactory except May 7, when she was not herself from 2:30 until 4:45. More spells occurred on May 12, from about 1:30 until 4:40 in the afternoon and from 5:20 on. She went to sleep that evening without regaining her normal condition.

On May 17, she complained of feeling dizzy much of the time and fell asleep several times. On May 19, she woke up at eight o'clock as Lonise and remained so until 8:35; after that, was Norma.

On the twenty-third, she was very nervous all day, rather despondent, fell asleep at eight o'clock and had one of her peculiar spells for about an hour and a quarter. She was not Polly but neither was she Norma. She knew no one.

On the twenty-fourth, she fell asleep about 7:20

in the evening in a curiously partial conscious state. She was not herself until ten o'clock that evening.

On the twenty-fifth, was rather nervous all day but did not lose consciousness or change personality.

On the twenty-seventh had a bad evening.

On the twenty-eighth was not feeling well and had more disturbance.

The next few days she was very well and highly satisfactory.

June 5, Monday, she was rather nervous all day, fell asleep at the supper table and awoke as Polly, Went to sleep finally for the night about ten o'clock, but waked as Norma at short intervals during this period.

On Tuesday, June 6, she fell asleep at 9:30 and woke at 10:00 as Polly. Polly fell asleep at 11:20.

Although the record shows more or less serious upsets during the past four months, Norma had in reality been making decided gains, and it is probable that because of her apparent improvement, we allowed her to get overtired, which caused the spells. These, it will be noticed, generally came in the evening; and many of them, if they had occurred in a normal person, would have been thought to be merely troubled sleep or sleep-walking. The more severe ones were directly traceable to over-exertion or over-excitement.

The tonsil operation was doubtless a considerable strain upon her nervous system and we expected more or less upset following that.

On the eighteenth of April we began glandular treatment, giving her six grains of pituitary and three of thyroid. Very likely this accounts for some of the nervousness, which in turn may have manifested itself in the spells described.

In spite of the occasional lapses to the Polly condition for short periods, we felt that Norma was distinctly improved, therefore when some relatives asked if she might spend a few weeks with them in the country, it seemed to us that probably the change would be beneficial. She was anxious to go, so the arrangements were made and on Sunday, June 11, she left us, expecting to stay about a month. As a matter of fact, she stayed until October and most of the time was perfectly normal. Toward the end of the summer, she became unhappy and uneasy and so returned to my care.

She then became a patient in the University Hospital. The problem now was getting to be one of care. She was sufficiently restored so that the right kind of treatment would almost certainly insure normal life. The University Hospital could not furnish the right kind of environment, as we well knew. At that time it was small and often crowded. There was not much opportunity for

privacy, quiet and rest. But she had no choice and was grateful for what she could get.

As her case was of interest to medical science, clinics were held in which the hysterical symptoms were pointed out. Everything that adds to the self-consciousness of a hysterical person is injurious and should be avoided, consequently we were not at all surprised when shortly after her arrival at the hospital, Norma began to have the Polly episodes again. However, there were long periods when she was perfectly normal and very helpful at the hospital. Finally, it seemed best to transfer her to the Columbus State Hospital where there was more opportunity for quiet and rest. The transfer was made on the 30th of August, 1923. Although she had been a very violent 'Polly' for some days before the transfer, possibly induced by the thought of a change, as soon as she was received at the hospital, she woke up as Norma and now for three years has been perfectly normal with the exception of two short periods when something disturbed her and the Polly personality appeared for a very brief period.

She is as comfortable and happy as could be expected. Norma is very fond of her brothers and sisters and she can not be perfectly happy separated far from them. The very serious shock that her nervous system received which resulted in

this duality is made more evident by the extreme slowness with which she recovers her physical strength. It will take time to bring her back to the point where she will be strong enough to earn her own living.

CHAPTER X

WHO WAS LOUISE?

We have recounted how on the second of December, 1921, our patient, after a more or less irregular sleep through the evening, awoke in a new personality which we have called Louise. On the following days we had the same thing for a longer or shorter time, as the record shows. At first we were inclined to be quite elated over this new appearance; the character seemed more normal and more in accordance with what we had thought was the patient's normal condition. She was quiet and composed; thoroughly reasonable in regard to all her associations. Her nervousness and irritability had entirely disappeared, and the craving for excitement which characterized Norma so much of the time was lacking. Moreover, she herself declared that she felt as though she had at last waked up. Could we have kept her permanently in the Louise state we would have felt that she was completely cured and that everything to be desired had been attained.

One fact, however, was troublesome; viz., that psychologically it was a condition of *amnesia* (loss of memory), which is of course an abnormal

condition. It will be remembered that she had no memory of the past three years. According to her own view of the situation she had fallen asleep three years before and had just waked up. She had no knowledge of anything that had happened during that period. We could not discover any cause for this sudden lapse or going to sleep. It is true that it occurred just about the time that the home was broken up, the mother being sent to the sanatorium and the brothers and sisters into various homes. On the other hand, if there were any changes in her personality at that time no one noticed them. If the sleep from which she had just awakened on the second of December, 1921, began three years before, it was without objective indication. She must have gone to bed and to sleep in a natural way one night, and the next morning have awakened and have gone on with her usual work so far as her associates could discover. This did not look like a good explanation. It was easier to think that the awakening in December was a peculiar case of amnesia which happened to run back three years. Consequently, as stated, the Louise personality was abnormal, and however much it might seem to be the individuality for which we were looking, nevertheless it could not be regarded as the normal personality or at least not attained in the normal way. Perhaps it is what must eventually come, but

it must come from a gradual recuperation or building up of the nervous system until the desired control is obtained.

In connection with the Louise state, several phenomena of interest occurred or were brought about. It seemed that if we brought back the memory of the past three years we would have a complete personality. We also discovered that she herself was somewhat troubled because of this disorientation. For instance, she did not know in this condition that her mother had passed away but was continually asking about her and when she might see her. Accordingly I asked her if she would like me to restore her memory and after I had explained how it could be done she gladly accepted the suggestion. Therefore I put her to sleep and suggested that when she awoke she would remember everything, then promptly awakened her. Asked how she felt, she replied, "I remember everything." An examination proved that she did. When she again awakened as Louise a few days later, however, she had no memory of her normal condition. Again I brought back the memory by the same method. Following that, she did not reawaken as Louise for several days and when she did, again had the amnesia. On this occasion, when her memory was brought back we observed what had not been in evidence before; namely, an almost instantaneous lapse to the

Norma condition. In other words, instead of having the peculiar marks of the Louise personality, with all its quietness and dignity, it was Norma with all her peculiar interests and excitability.

This led me to speculate somewhat upon the psychology of the situation, whereupon it seemed that what we were getting was perfectly natural. If Louise represented the normal individual of three years ago, when she went to sleep, and we add to that the memory of all the experiences of the intervening three years, we must get the personality of Norma. In other words, if any one of us should lose the experiences of three years of his life, would he not be thrown back in disposition and character to what he was at the time he lost his memory? My actions to-day in many cases are the result of experiences that I have acquired in the last two years. Without those experiences, I would necessarily act in these situations just as I would have acted two years ago. One can well believe that three years ago, while still living in her own home, Norma was just exactly what we found Louise to be. But Norma in 1921 was the Norma of three years before plus the trouble and disappointment and the three years of work and all the experiences in a big city, the associations that she made, and the ideas that she acquired. Taking away the memory of those three years

brings back Louise, or adding that memory to Louise produces Norma again.

With that in mind, I resolved that the next time she awoke as Louise I would not restore her memory, but would make the effort gradually to keep her longer and longer in that state until it became the permanent state, and we would thus have our ideal personality developed. After she got strong it would be easy enough to tell her such of the experiences of the past three years as it was desirable for her to know and it would not be necessary for her actually to recall them. In other words, she would be in the condition of a person who has had a fever for a few months, who after recovery is never able to recall what transpired while he was delirious but knows, from what his friends tell him, something of what he did. Such a lapse of memory does not seriously interfere with one's happiness or efficiency. So, in the case of Louise, if we could develop that character at once, the fact that it was the result of losing the memory for the past three years would in no way handicap her. Such then was our purpose at the time—but again we were thwarted. For the next time she awoke as Louise, lo and behold, she had her Norma memories and if she was not at once perfectly like Norma, at least she slipped into that condition in a very few minutes.

It is somewhat more difficult to rule out the

possibility of faking in the Louise personality than in the other. This is doubtless partly due to the fact that we have had less of it and consequently less opportunity for manifestation of conditions that could not be faked. Indeed, there were a few occurrences that were quite strongly suggestive of faking. For instance, the reader will recall that Norma was in the habit of calling the writer "Daddy." The first time I met Louise, of course she had to be introduced, after which I explained to her something of the situation—the place where she was; how she came to be here; what we were trying to do for her, and something of her other personalities of Norma and Polly. In the course of the explanation I remarked that Polly and Norma were in the habit of calling me "Daddy." By way of making her feel that we were not strangers to her, I said, "And you may call me 'Daddy' if you wish to." Some minutes later, when she had asked for something and I had said that she might have it she said, "O, thank you, Daddy," and then in some confusion, "O, I forgot." The "Thank you, Daddy" had been said in a perfectly natural Norma way, and the "I forgot" might easily be taken to mean "I forgot that I was playing the part of Louise now," and the confusion might be the result of making that mistake. On the other hand, it could just as well have been confusion from the fact that this new person-

ality, assuming that it was genuine, so quickly accepted the suggestion that I had made, of calling me "Daddy."

Perhaps the strongest evidence that Louise was a genuine experience will be found in the fact mentioned without solicitation by several of those who have seen her in both if not all personalities that Louise is so different from the others that one finds oneself instinctively treating her in a different manner from that with which one treats Norma or Polly. Some of my assistants have said that they did not know how to act in Louise's presence. I found myself talking to her and treating her as though she was no relation whatever to Norma. Had the Louise personality been put on, one can hardly imagine it being so genuine in all those intangible, indescribable details that one would instinctively regard her as a different personality. It is a very high order of acting, seldom attained by the professionals, that leads one to forget that the individual is playing a part. But this has been the case every time that Louise has appeared and with every individual who has known her as Norma.

Another fact which argues for the genuineness of the amnesia is her facial expression. No one who has seen the two personalities has failed to note the contrast in appearance. To put it æsthetically, Louise is much prettier than Norma.

Apparently the Norma countenance has some of her nervousness about it which draws it somewhat out of shape. This is not particularly noticeable until compared with the countenance of Louise, when it is easily seen that there is a restfulness and a calm and the natural contours form a more pleasing group of lines. It is hard to imagine that this could in any way be put on. From all these considerations it seems much more plausible to conclude that we are dealing with a genuine amnesia.

Perhaps this amnesia also is to be explained from the theory of lack of sufficient energy to innervate the neurones which had to do with the later experiences. We know that older people when they begin to fail and their nerve energy wanes, lose their memories for recent things and gradually slip back to an earlier period of life. Moreover it is not uncommon to find an old man gradually fading out until he talks and acts like the boy that he once was, recalling things that he has not remembered for decades. So here we would have a condition, not the result of age but the result of an unnatural degree of exhaustion, which has driven the nervous system back to an earlier condition. The fact that this condition when it occurred naturally (that is to say, the Louise personality) always followed a period of rest and recuperation, also makes for this view.

A more difficult question is the query as to how hypnotic suggestion can bring back the Louise personality in the space of two or three minutes. We might evade the question by replying, "Well, this is no more strange than many of the phenomena that can be produced in hypnosis and until they are all explained it is not incumbent upon us to account for this new one." However, it is not difficult to offer a theory even here. We know, for instance, that the hypnotic sleep is a condition in which the brain is to a large extent torpid. Only a few of the many stimuli that are constantly reaching the awakened brain get access to the one that is in the dream condition. Those stimuli are either the ones that are most intense or those for which the brain has been, so to speak, prepared previous to the hypnotic sleep by the condition of rapport, so that what actually happens would be something as follows: The brain with its limited amount of energy is more or less inactive when a suggestion of the operator received through the auditory channel directs the energy definitely into the part of the brain or system of neurones whose activity means consciousness of events of the past three years. Therefore what energy there is flows in that direction and causes the resulting consciousness. It is worthy of note that the artificially produced Louise was rarely able to keep awake very long at

a time, while the naturally occurring Louise remained awake for a longer or shorter time according to the condition of relative rest or fatigue which had preceded. It is also worthy of note that the artificially produced Louise nearly always awoke with a headache, which may be taken as indicating an unusual strain or distribution of energy in some way.

The Louise phase is interesting from another standpoint also; namely, on the point of character development. Previous to the Polly attack, her history shows that the past three years of her life have been of a kind to develop a character entirely different from that which was being developed up to the time of the breaking up of the home. Previous to October, 1918, she had had all the guardianship and the refining influences of a home and the protection from everything that was coarse and undesirable. In the new period she found herself in a great city, working largely in the capacity of a domestic, associating perforce, rather than by choice, with young women of entirely different ideas and ideals from any with whom she had previously come in contact. Moreover, her nervous condition had developed to the point where she craved excitement, and since she was earning her own money she had the opportunity to gratify that craving in the only way her youthful companions could suggest; namely, by

going to the movies, going to the park, out evenings, dressing in the style of the group into which circumstances had forced her, imitating their language and their views of life. Fortunately, her moral training had been adequate and nothing in this situation ever tempted her to deviate from the strict rules of morality, but in other ways, in habits of action and speech, she became so changed as to have a much less attractive personality. So that by the time of this final breakdown, the Norma with whom we have become familiar had developed.

Now, with the development of the amnesia, all the experiences of the past three years were blotted out and we had a manifestation of the character that was developing at the time the home was broken up. Who of us does not realize that we would be quite different individuals if we could blot out the memories of certain experiences of our lives? From this standpoint, it would appear that we were right when we hoped, for a time, that we could develop the Louise personality directly, eliminate the unfortunate experiences of the past three years and bring our patient back to that point when everything was going well and satisfactorily. But as pointed out, this was an amnesia, an abnormal condition and not one upon which we could build. Disappointing as it may be to the reader and certainly was to us, that we

were not able to make this transformation suddenly, it is not impossible, nevertheless, to restore the original condition by a natural system of conscious habits. Norma, by her own effort and will-power may break the more recent and undesirable habits of life and speech, and develop the more attractive habits that were already forming at the time that the change came. In other words, we may hope yet to have Louise as the final personality although obtained by a more tedious and prolonged process. Norma, fortunately, has the intelligence and ability to do this and it is only necessary to develop the requisite amount of nerve energy to give her the desired power of control. I have no doubt whatever that this end would be attained if the right environment could be provided.

MEMORY AND PERSONALITY

In Chapter VII we have explained personality and have shown that an amnesia or loss of memory was necessary to bring about the condition of dual personality. It is desirable now to discover if possible to what extent personality is dependent upon memory. Is my personality as I think of it, or as it is regarded by others, dependent upon what I remember of my past experiences?

After our experiences with Norma, with Polly of the various ages and with Louise, we are tempted to say emphatically that it is solely a matter of memory. It may be necessary to modify this later, but let us look at it from this standpoint.

When Norma fell asleep and woke up as Louise, she had lost the memory for the experiences of the last three years and she was so decidedly a different personality that every one not only noticed it but was delighted with the change. When we brought back the memory of those three years, even though she still called herself Louise she nevertheless had the Norma personality. What

had happened in those last three years, lack of memory of which carried her back to the Louise personality?

The period involved extended from October of 1918, when she was living with Mr. and Mrs. Caldwell and going to high school, until she waked up in her room at the Bureau of Juvenile Research, December 2, 1921. During that time her mother had died and we have abundant evidence that that event had a marked effect upon Norma. She thought much about her mother and longed for her company and help. During this period she left her native town and went to a big city to earn her own living. She became a servant girl and her companions were other servant girls, of a type that she had never known before. She went to the movies and to shows. She acquired an experience with life that was utterly new to her. Meanwhile her health was getting worse; she became more nervous; she developed the fears and suspicions that come from living with entire strangers. Finally she broke down and had seven weeks in a hospital. It is interesting to note in passing how the reflection of that experience intrudes upon the Louise personality, for as she wakes up she says, "Where am I?" and then answers her own question by saying, "I am in a hospital. I never wanted to be in a hospital." This is an illustration of that overlapping of

personalities of which there is considerable in Norma's history and which Janet recognizes when he says that in these cases there is always a fundamental stock of knowledge that is common to all the different personalities.

Now all these new experiences, and many more, slowly but surely changed Norma's outlook and gave her a taste of the bitter side of life, to which she reacted by a kind of frivolity, a seeking for thrills. It also markedly modified her vocabulary. In short, it blunted many of those refinements with which she was brought up and which rendered her so highly attractive. Now the ease, promptness and the accuracy with which she can be changed from Norma to Louise or from Louise to Norma by the mere addition or taking away of this group of memories drives one almost irresistibly to the conclusion that the personality—the soul, if you wish—is merely the sum of memories. The argument is in no way changed by a consideration of the Polly and Norma combination, the only difference being that we do not so easily account for the Polly personality because we are not so sure what the memories are that make it up. But it is quite clear that Polly is Norma minus a large group of memories. In other words, Norma is the complete personality. Louise is this complete personality minus three years of definite experiences and Polly is this personality

minus a group of unknown memories and experiences. The change from the demon Polly to our seraphic Norma—to quote our newspaper reporters—is so easy that our ideas of demon possession become severely shattered and we seem driven to the conclusion that the whole problem is a matter of nerve cells and their memories.

This may sound strange, but consider again the scores of times that we transformed Polly to Norma by restoring her memory and the equal number of lapses to Polly when the memory was lost. When Polly remembered Norma she *was* Norma even though she called herself Polly. When we *told* Louise that her mother was dead she burst into tears and showed genuine grief. When Louise woke up with the restored memories, she was Norma and the death of her mother was a sorrow from which she had long since recovered, hence there was no demonstration of grief.

Recall also the fact that when Polly changed to Norma without going to sleep Mr. Rauch recognized the change by the expression of her countenance. That sounds strange, uncanny, impossible, until one recalls that it is of daily occurrence. We detect a boy in telling an untruth by his countenance; we recognize that a business man has or has not certain information from the expression on his countenance when the subject is mentioned; we know that we ourselves “change

countenance" when certain memories come to us. Our intimate friends tell us we look worried. What is worry but the memory of experiences or events intimately connected with our welfare or happiness! When we can forget, the worried look disappears and our personality changes. A person who had been a good friend and whom I had admired and enjoyed for years, suddenly proved false and for selfish reasons tried to discredit me. Later I met him. My first reaction was a memory of the old happy days. I am sure my countenance showed pleasure, for his reflected it: I could see he was happy that I had forgotten his perfidy; my hand moved to grasp his. Then suddenly the memory of all his treachery filled my mind! Did I finish the pleasant greeting that I had started? No. My personality changed at that instant. If my *action* did not change, I acted a lie!

Polly-Norma-Louise merely furnished us with a strikingly vivid and unequivocal illustration of what happens continually in everyday life. Why do we so often say, "If only I could forget?" How frequently do we find ourselves deterred from some action because—as we find by study—we vaguely *remember* an experience that bears on the situation?

In the last analysis then, is not my entire activity determined by what I remember of my

becomes a shortage of *power*. The town can not get enough coal to run all its factories. Suppose the cotton mills have a large supply on hand and consequently can continue running, while the shoe shops must close down. The town becomes a *cotton manufacturing town*. That is its "Personality." There is no evidence of shoemaking at all. However, it happens that at about the time the cotton spinners have exhausted their coal, the shoemakers acquire a supply. Suddenly the town becomes a *shoe manufacturing town* and there is no evidence of cotton spinning anywhere. It happens that for several years only half enough coal comes to the town. The two industries are struggling to get it as it comes in and whichever one succeeds determines the character of the town for the time being—and we say that the conditions are so nearly equal that it is a mere chance which leads on any particular occasion.

Clearly, whether you have a *shoe town* or a *cotton town* depends upon which industry is at work and upon the fact that when one is at work, the other is at rest. It is not a case of the men who know how to make shoes suddenly turning over and making cotton cloth or vice versa. Both of the groups are ready to work at any time. It all depends upon who gets the coal—the energy.

Now, consider the brain. It is composed of about ten thousand million brain cells whose

activities or capacities for action determine the mental life of the individual. When we are asleep the great mass of the brain cells are quiescent and there is little activity, but as soon as we awake, everything is again in normal function. Now assume that, for some reason, the brain can develop only half of its energy: also assume that the brain cells have somehow grouped themselves into two main divisions, the activity of one of which means a limited existence such as we have called a secondary personality. There is energy enough in the brain to keep one of these groups active, but not both. Now suppose such an individual falls asleep and the entire brain is quiescent: what determines which of these two groups of brain cells will become active? So far as we know, it is largely a matter of accident or chance.

When Polly or Norma fell asleep, we could never predict which one would wake up. The only exception to this was the hypnotic sleep from which we woke up whichever personality we desired. This result was obtained by talking to the sleeping person in language that belonged to the personality we wished to waken. By addressing Norma in hypnotic sleep we naturally brought the brain cells that had to do with Norma's consciousness into activity and she awoke. If we spoke of Louise, the result was that we got a

Louise consciousness. We see, therefore, that it was not a case of changing the nature of brain cells, as one might at first imagine, but rather of arousing to activity different groups. When one set was aroused we had Norma and when another set was aroused we had Polly, and in the treatment and cure of the case, whatever might be the individual steps or details, *the real cure took place when the nervous system had sufficiently recovered its energy to be able to keep the entire brain in activity*, as occasion required; so that there were not two separate groups of brain cells but the two were combined into one group. There is no Louise because there is always sufficient energy to prevent the amnesia. There is no Polly because both the Polly and Norma cells are always ready to function and there can be no such thing as a loss of the Norma life or consciousness.

CHAPTER XII

RÉSUMÉ

In the foregoing pages we have told the story of a young woman who suffered a peculiar type of nervous breakdown. We have related the events in the order in which we met them. Starting with the fully developed secondary personality we have traced back to the beginning and attempted to explain all the important circumstances and developments.

It simplifies the story to retell it briefly, starting at the beginning and going straight through to the end.

Norma was the first born in a large family, constituting what may be called a typical American home. The heredity was good. With the exception of one case of senility, there was no insanity or mental defect in the family. Norma grew up under what must be regarded as better than average social and moral conditions and she surely inherited better than average intelligence, so that in these three of the four fundamentals, Norma was well equipped and had every prospect of filling a useful position in the community. On the physical side, however, she was handicapped; and though

that handicap clearly could have been removed, it never was. She began life as a frail child, one of twins, and continued to have one mishap after another until the final break came. To many people the story reads like one of those of which we say, "unfortunate, but unavoidable."

The mother of Norma was a faithful, hard-working woman; the father earned a good salary but inadequate to support a family of ten children continually afflicted with illness and frequently afflicted with death. Had there been only half as many children the story might have been entirely different. But with our present ideas of individual freedom, there was no way in which society—which is more interested than any individual, in the welfare of its members—could interfere to change the course of events. There is only one possible exception to this statement, but that is an exception and it is the one place where something might have been done and *ought* to have been done, to save this particular child, Norma—that was the public school.

Norma was a pupil in the public schools for nine years, from the time she was six years of age. At six years she was already so physically unfit and nervously disturbed that she was a sleep-walker. Although there are no records, she must have been under-nourished. Her friends say that she frequently complained of being tired—but be-

cause she had a good mind and got her lessons; because she had good marks and gave no trouble; because she had a pretty face and was attractive socially, nobody paid any attention to the one thing without which all these others would prove useless; namely, her good health.

The home, even though it was above average, could not attend to these matters. The community should have done it; and practically the only agency that the public had was the public schools. Her teachers, had they been allowed, or encouraged to look after health as much as after her lessons, would have found many ways in which they could have remedied the situation, not only regarding Norma herself, but also her family. One questions whether a wideawake community, fully aroused to the significance of the social problem, would have allowed Norma's father and mother to die of tuberculosis at the relatively young ages of thirty-nine and thirty-eight. The following story from the pen of Dr. J. N. Hurty of Indianapolis thus expresses the situation at this point:

“One time a little mother, who was only twenty-five years old, began to feel tired all the time. Her appetite had failed her for weeks before the tired feeling came. Her three little girls, once a joy in her life, now became a burden to her. It was “Mamma,” “Mamma,” all day long. She never had noticed these appeals until the tired feeling

came. The little mother also had red spots on her cheeks and a slight dry cough. One day, when dragging herself around, forcing her weary body to work, she felt a sharp but slight pain in her chest, her head grew dizzy, and suddenly her mouth filled with blood. The hemorrhage was not severe, but it left her very weak. The doctor she had consulted for her cough and tired feeling had said: "You are all run down, you need a tonic." For a fee he prescribed bitters made of alcohol, water and gentian. This gave her false strength for a while, for it checked her little reserve out. When the hemorrhage occurred, she and all her neighbors knew she had consumption, and the doctor should have known it and told her months before.

"Now she wrote to the state board of health, and said, 'I am told that consumption in its early stages can be cured by outdoor life, continued rest, and plenty of plain, good food. I do not want to die. I want to live and raise my children to make them good citizens. Where can I go to get well?' The reply was: 'The great Christian state of Indiana has not yet risen to the mighty economy of saving the lives of little mothers from consumption. At the present, the only place you can go is a grave. However, the state will care for your children in an orphan's asylum after you are dead and then in a few years a special officer will be paid to find a home for them. But save your life—never. That is a cranky idea,' for a member from

the floor of the sixty-fifth assembly said so. 'Besides,' said he, 'it isn't business: the state can not afford it.' So the little mother died of the preventable and curable disease, the home was broken up, and the children were taken to the orphan's asylum."

* * *

"A big fat hog one morning found he had a pain in his belly. He squealed loudly, and the farmer came out of his house to see what was the matter. 'He's got the hog cholry,' said the hired man. So the farmer telegraphed to Secretary Wilson, of the United States Agriculture Department (who said the other day he had 3000 experts in animal and plant diseases,) and the reply was: 'Cert, I'll send you a man right away.' Sure enough, the man came. He said he was a D. V. S., and he was, too. He had a government syringe and a bottle of government medicine in his hand bag, and he went for the hog. It got well. It wasn't cranky for the government to do this, and it could afford the expense, for the hog could be turned into ham, sausage, lard and bacon.

"Anybody, even a fool, can see it would be cranky for the state to save the life of a little mother, and could not afford it either.

"*MORAL*: Be a hog and be worth saving."

Since Dr. Hurty wrote the above, Indiana has improved the conditions; but no State has yet appreciated its full responsibility in these matters.

But confining ourselves to Norma, we find the conditions constantly growing worse, as evidenced by her continued sleep-walking, by her fears and by her inability to meet the social requirements.

Finally, almost at the close of her first year in high school, she broke down completely. It is an argument that will hardly stand investigation, which says that a child who has so thoroughly broken down that she can not finish two more months in high school can properly and safely be turned out to earn her own living and make her way alone in a big city; but such seems to have been the argument, for such was the treatment.

Of course, she gradually grew worse physically—but again nothing was done until a break came. Then she was sent to the hospital for seven weeks. The whole sad history is the story of doing nothing as long as the organism can be made to hold together. We do not pursue such a policy with our domestic animals. The man who treated his horse that way would be arrested. A man who was using a boiler and an engine in his factory on that principle, would be held up by state inspectors. A building or a bridge that was continued in use under such conditions would be condemned. Because forsooth, under these conditions, somebody might be injured, property might be damaged. We have not yet learned that a physically broken down human being is a menace and a danger. If it is a

situation where our humanitarian feeling is appealed to, we will act, but from the standpoint of straight common sense and efficiency, the people see no argument.

Norma was compelled to struggle on until her breakdown was complete and her associates found her in a condition which they did not understand and of which they were afraid. They then realized that something must be done—but, as too often happens, when they were ready to act, it was too late.

Through all these years and under all these adverse circumstances, Norma had been gradually getting worse. Her sleep-walking, which began when she was six years of age, had gradually become more frequent and of longer duration and exhibited itself in more elaborate performances, including such episodes as going to the kitchen and securing a carving knife with which to kill the snakes of which she was dreaming. Her nervous system had become so weak that at times she would lie unconscious for forty hours. Under these conditions, her environment was becoming more and more intolerable and she was longing more and more for a home, with its comforts; for a mother, with her love; for brothers and sisters; for an opportunity to play; for freedom from a life of drudgery. All this and more she built into an elaborate imaginary picture, not of something

that she was hopefully looking forward to, but of something in contrast to what she actually was enduring. She was continually called back from the contemplation of this dream picture by the reality before her, to wash the dishes in a strange home, or to take care of somebody's strange child. Then she would turn to her work, making the best of the situation, trying to be happy. Yet she was lonesome. She missed her mother, her brothers and sisters, her childhood friends. She could do nothing to make this dream come true; she was already too weak physically to do this. And so the everlasting contrast went on, while she was occupied with her hard work and the realities of life: and to escape that she fled to her dream world, to enjoy herself, revelling in the happy situation which she never expected would be more than a dream.

Finally the nervous system gave out. It could not develop energy enough to hold the two contrasting pictures. It had only energy enough for one or the other. One day as she was ready to return to the distant city, to the strangers and the hard work, she fell asleep. When she woke she was dreaming of her ideal life and had forgotten her real life. She had even forgotten the house in which she was living, and the people whom she had been visiting. She had forgotten her own name so she invented a new one. She called herself

Polly and said she was four years old. Thus was born the secondary personality. Occasionally she would wake up in what we may call her normal personality and then she could not remember Polly. Her nervous system was so weak that it could handle only one set of experiences at a time—not both.

The treatment and cure was rest and physical upbuilding. We have talked about hypnotism, but she was not cured by hypnotism. We have explained how we made Norma remember Polly and Polly remember Norma, and those were indeed some of the steps in the process, but the real improvement in her condition came as her nervous system grew stronger. It will be remembered that when we first put Polly to sleep and woke her up as Norma, she would stay awake as Norma only a few minutes, sometimes indeed not at all, but gradually as she regained strength, the periods were lengthened and the time came when she had no further trouble in this direction.

Even after five years, her nervous system is not sufficiently strong to enable her to earn her own living. Few of us realize how serious a matter is a diseased nervous system. Every other part of the body is rather quickly restored under favorable conditions. A broken bone heals easily; a lacerated muscle is rather quickly restored; even impoverished blood under right treatment may quickly

reach normal condition. In all these cases the nervous system is there to help, but when the nervous system itself loses its energy, there is nothing to help it to recover. Hence the slow progress. It was probably fortunate for Norma that the duality developed, because it was an escape.

Teachers and parents cannot be too strongly impressed with the significance of a frail nervous system. We should realize that both at home and in the school children are being forced into a state of ill health that differs from Polly's only in details. As we have stated, it was largely a matter of chance that the three factors that made inevitable a dual personality came together in Norma's case. Had they not happened to do so, Norma would simply have had a nervous breakdown without the spectacular dual personality. Under other circumstances, it might have been an ordinary case of insanity. The fundamental conditions are the same in all and the lesson to be learned is the same.

As a matter of fact, the dual experience was probably the most fortunate outcome of the very bad situation. Had it been otherwise her case would not have attracted the attention and received the treatment needed. Moreover the duality itself was more favorable to a complete rest than any other outcome could have been. While Polly was holding the stage, Norma was asleep and that

part of the brain was resting. It was a very genuine "escape from reality." While Polly's life was active, it was not intense. There were no serious worries and anxieties, such as Norma had to face. Thus if Norma's dual personality was the best outcome to be expected, what shall we say of what might have been? There is nothing much sadder than a life of chronic invalidism from neurasthenia—"nerves."

Our educational system is moving, and in the right direction, but it should move faster. It must make this problem of child health an integral part of its work, not merely a superficial part. It is folly to say that it belongs to the parent. The parents do not understand it and never will. They have not the kind of intelligence that can solve such problems. The school can do it and do it efficiently. This applies to the recognition of deficient nervous systems that need to be built up, and it includes especially the handling of children in school by methods that make for health and happiness, instead of worry and unhappiness, which mean, in the long run, ill health.

Most prominent among the methods that are injurious are those that grow out of the theory that nothing is education that is not difficult and disagreeable; and that the more objectionable and unpleasant the task, the most important it is to compel the child to perform it. Such a theory is

contrary to all the teachings of psychology and contrary to all experience. This is hard for many people to understand because they immediately look into their own experience and find that the things that have been the most useful to them have been the things upon which they have had to put the greatest effort and which they have often found highly disagreeable.

The misunderstanding comes from confusing the disagreeable tasks that a teacher or parent sets a child and the disagreeable task that one sets for himself. The latter constitutes true education; the former, false education. It ought to be obvious to any one who thinks, that the tasks one performs solely at the command of another have no moral value. Otherwise our slaves in the olden times should have far surpassed their masters in moral development. Why does the employer compare unfavorably the man who merely does as he is told with the man who does practically the same work but does it because he is interested in it? Likewise in school: doing what the teacher commands, solely because the teacher commands it, does not develop the child, but what the child does *because he sets himself the task* and makes himself do it, no matter how hard or disagreeable it may be, *that makes character.*

On this point another misunderstanding is frequent. My argument is taken to mean that we

must let a child do as he pleases—to set his own task—in which case he will never do anything that we want him to do, while experiences teach that at least in the majority of cases, parents and teachers know best what the child ought to do. As a matter of fact, there is no such antithesis, between the things he wants to do and the things the teacher wants him to do. The teacher or parent does know best in most cases and the child must do the thing that the parent or teacher determines. It is wholly a *question of method*. One teacher says, “John, this is your task for to-day and you don’t get any supper until it is done.” Another method is to say to John, “Now, here is the goal you want to reach, is it not? And there doesn’t seem to be any other way to reach it than by doing this piece of work. It is hard work and not very interesting but it looks as though it has to be done, doesn’t it?” John says, “Sure, I can do that.” Now it is a strange fact that one of these methods makes for health and happiness and the other tends to ill health and unhappiness. It is amazing how much work even an invalid can do if it is part of *his own desire* and it is often disappointing to see how little real work a fairly healthy person can accomplish, without getting sick, if it is a task that is set by others!

The happiness part we can understand. It is natural for a person to be happier when he is per-

forming a task in which he is interested than in performing a task that another has ordered. But what about the health? A little light has been thrown on this by the discovery of the importance of the glands of internal secretion. A happy state of mind favors the normal activity of these glands, while unhappiness induces an abnormal condition which tends toward ill health. Be the explanation what it will, of the fact there is no question. The teacher who *suggests* rather than *commands*; who succeeds in getting the child to regard *her* problems as *his own* problems and consequently makes it possible for him to work at them happily, not only gets more done but produces happiness and health and moral fibre.

The Normas in our school system should be saved, and one of the things that will help to save them is a true method along the lines we have indicated. Parents, too, who are interested, and have the time to devote to the training of their children should understand carefully the methods and promote the health and happiness of the child by *suggesting* the things to be done with the reasons therefor, rather than by too many commands, thus making a slave of the child with a consequent punishment for non-performance.

Another method by which we unintentionally break down the child's nervous system and introduce trouble perhaps of lifelong duration, is

through *the use of fear* as a disciplinary measure. Frightening a child into good behavior is a method that can not be too strongly condemned. Some people have suspected this for many years but recently we are getting the evidence in overwhelming quantities, so that there is no longer the slightest doubt. Fear is an emotion that has a far-reaching effect upon the nervous system. It is always injurious. We have long been familiar with cases of sudden death from fear. Other less deplorable results from fear, are also familiar. We have looked upon these instances as occurring in very exceptional people, as is probably the case, but we now know that while these cases are perhaps extreme, there are great quantities of less drastic results that are nevertheless exceedingly troublesome and objectionable. So dangerous is the method that the time has come when we must say it shall be abolished.

It will be recalled that Norma, naturally rather timid because of her weak nervous system, spent a few weeks one winter with her great aunt, who thought to overcome her timidity by subjecting her to greater fears. The effect of this treatment upon Norma's nervous system, already weak, was undoubtedly of the most serious kind and probably materially hastened her breakdown.

In our psychological clinics we meet hundreds of people, both children and adults, who are suf-

fering from various handicaps that can be traced directly to fears that were inculcated in childhood. When a child is naturally timid or has acquired an unreasonable fear, the method is not to argue with him persistently but as far as possible to ignore it. In other words, *to help him to forget it*, because, as we have already seen, what is forgotten has no effect upon the personality.

What we have said should not be confused with the principle of teaching children to be afraid of certain things in order to provide for safety. This is another use of the term "fear" or "afraid" and has nothing whatever to do with what we have been discussing. The fear of which we have spoken is an emotion. The fear that a child has when he learns to be afraid of dangerous things is an intellectual matter, not an emotion.

When we say that we teach a child to be afraid of being run over by an automobile, we mean that we teach him to exercise good judgment, realize the situation and act intelligently. We certainly do not mean that we want him to become red in the face, tremble all over, have short breath and rapid pulse and other symptoms of a decided emotional upset. Such a state is distinctly injurious to the nervous system. Such a state is exactly what we produce when we make a child afraid of the dark by shutting him in a dark room, and when

we make him afraid of ghosts and imaginary beings by threatening him with these as a punishment, and the thousand and one other threats and promises intended to make him good through fear.

It is true that there are great differences in children, or in the nervous systems that they have inherited. Some will endure all this harsh treatment with no apparent injury. Nevertheless, it is doubtful if it is harmless even in those cases. Certainly for the children whose nervous systems are at all delicate, it is a very dangerous procedure. As already stated, it will not often lead to a dual personality but it will frequently lead to a nervous breakdown and sometimes to an early insanity: all of which means that in the rearing of children and in their education, the greatest attention should be given to their health, physical and mental; that their environment should never be so unpleasant as to drive them to daydreaming of an imaginary and impossible life; that they should have as few as possible of those experiences that they will in after life wish they could forget.

Some of our readers will want to ask how the memory can be so quickly restored or taken away? Especially if we insist that memory resides in the brain cells, how can brain cells change so quickly? What happens? Nobody knows just what happens,

and it is rather difficult to present a theory that will be clear to one unfamiliar with nerve mechanism and psychology. However, we make the attempt.

We have stated that the brain consists of about ten thousand million brain cells. We assume that when one group of these cells is active we have the Norma consciousness. When another group is active we have Polly. In a healthy person, the two are so closely related that one group easily sets the other into activity. In an exhausted nervous system this cannot happen.

In sleep the entire brain is largely inactive. It then seems to be largely chance which group of cells becomes active. We could never predict whether Polly or Norma would wake up from ordinary sleep. In hypnotic sleep we definitely set into activity the group we wished; usually Norma or Louise.

Having found that Louise was an abnormal personality because she was the result of an amnesia, we centered our efforts on Norma. This proved to be the right thing to do. Norma has steadily grown stronger. For more than three years she has maintained her normal personality with the exception of two occasions when too much responsibility was placed upon her and her nerves gave way for a few hours.

Two souls in one body? How ridiculous the idea sounds now that we have the facts before us and understand something of personality, of brain activity and of this unusual form of nervous breakdown known as dual personality!

APPENDIX A

OTHER CASES OF DUAL PERSONALITY

Mr. Hanna fell out of the carriage in which he was riding; he struck his head and was unconscious for two hours. When he recovered consciousness, he had no memory and was like an infant. He could not talk or understand, he did not know the name of anything and had to begin his education all over again. After a time he recovered his normal consciousness for a while, only to relapse again to the child-like condition. Gradually, however, the duration of the normal periods lengthened until finally he came back completely to his normal life.

One of the oldest cases recorded is that of Mary Reynolds, first described in *Harper's Magazine* for May, 1860. Her case was much like that of Mr. Hanna except that it was not caused by any known accident. She simply slept for about twenty hours and then awoke with the consciousness of an infant. She learned to read and write and regained her knowledge very rapidly. After five weeks she woke up as her normal self. She alternated a good many times and finally remained in the secondary state. The following account is taken from Weir Mitchell's record:

"Mary Reynolds was found one morning, long after her habitual time for rising, in a profound sleep from which it was impossible to arouse her. After eighteen

or twenty hours of sleeping, awakened, but in a state of unnatural consciousness. Memory had fled. To all intents and purposes she was as a being for the first time ushered into the world. 'All of the past that remained to her was the faculty of pronouncing a few words, and this seems to have been as purely instinctive as the wailings of an infant; for at first the words which she uttered were connected with no ideas in her mind.' Until she was taught their significance they were unmeaning sounds.

"Her eyes were virtually for the first time opened upon the world. Old things had passed away; all things had become new. Her parents, brothers, sisters, friends, were not recognized or acknowledged as such by her. She had never seen them before—never known them—was not aware that such persons had been. Now for the first time she was introduced to their company and acquaintance. To the scenes by which she was surrounded she was a perfect stranger. The house, the fields, the forest, the hills, the vales, the streams: all were novelties. The beauties of the landscape were all unexplored.

"She had not the slightest consciousness that she had ever existed previous to the moment in which she awoke from that mysterious slumber. In a word, she was an infant, just born, yet born in a state of maturity, with a capacity for relishing the rich, sublime, luxuriant wonders of created nature.

"The first lesson in her education was to teach her by what ties she was bound to those by whom she was surrounded, and the duties devolving upon her accordingly. This she was very slow to learn, and, indeed, never did learn, or, at least, never would acknowledge the ties of consanguinity, or scarcely those of friendship. She considered those she had once known as for

the most part strangers and enemies, among whom she was, by some remarkable and unaccountable means, transplanted, though from what region or state of existence was a problem unsolved.

“The next lesson was to re-teach her the arts of reading and writing. She was apt enough, and made such rapid progress in both that *in a few weeks* she had readily re-learned to read and write. In copying her name which her brother had written for her as a first lesson, she took her pen in a very awkward manner and began to copy from right to left in the Hebrew mode, as though she had been transplanted from an Eastern soil. . . .

“The next thing that is noteworthy is the change which took place in her disposition. Instead of being melancholy, she was now cheerful in the extreme. Instead of being reserved, she was buoyant and social. Formerly taciturn and retiring, she was now merry and jocose. Her disposition was totally and absolutely changed. While she was, in this second state, extravagantly fond of company, she was much more enamored of nature’s works, as exhibited in the forests, hills, vales, and water-courses. She used to start in the morning, either on foot or horseback, and ramble until nightfall over the whole country; nor was she at all particular whether she were on a path or in the trackless forest. Her predilection for this manner of life may have been occasioned by the restraint necessarily imposed upon her by her friends, which caused her to consider them her enemies and not companions, so that she was glad to keep out of their way.

“She knew no fear, and as bears and panthers were numerous in the woods, and rattlesnakes and copperheads abounded everywhere, her friends told her of the

danger to which she exposed herself, but it produced no other effect than to draw forth a contemptuous laugh, as she said, 'I know you only want to frighten me and keep me at home, but you miss it, for I often see your bears and I am perfectly convinced that they are nothing more than black hogs.'

"One evening, after her return from her daily excursion, she told the following incident: 'As I was riding to-day along a narrow path a great black hog came out of the woods and stopped before me. I never saw such an impudent black hog before. It stood up on its hind feet and grinned and gnashed its teeth at me. I could not make the horse go on. I told him he was a fool to be frightened at a hog and tried to whip him past, but he would not go and wanted to turn back. I told the hog to get out of the way, but he did not mind me. 'Well,' said I, 'if you won't for words, I'll try blows.' So I got off and took a stick, and walked up toward it. When I got pretty close by, it got down on all fours and walked away slowly and sullenly, stopping every few steps and looking back and grinning and growling. Then I got on my horse and rode on. . . .

"Thus it continued for five weeks, when one morning, after a protracted sleep, she awoke and was herself again. She recognized the parental, the brotherly, and sisterly ties as though nothing had happened, and immediately went about the performance of duties incumbent upon her, and which she had planned five weeks previously. Great was her surprise at the change which one night (as she supposed) had produced. Nature bore a different aspect. Not a trace was left in her mind of the giddy scenes through which she had passed. Her ramblings through the forest, her tricks and humor, all were faded from her memory, and not a shadow left

behind. Her parents saw their child; her brothers and sisters saw their sister. She now had all the knowledge that she had possessed in her first state previous to the change, still fresh and in as vigorous exercise as though no change had been. But any new acquisitions she had made, and any new ideas she had obtained, were lost to her now—yet not lost, but laid up out of sight in safe-keeping for future use. Of course her natural disposition returned; her melancholy was deepened by the information of what had occurred. All went on in the old-fashioned way, and it was fondly hoped that the mysterious occurrences of those five weeks would never be repeated, but these anticipations were not to be realized. After the lapse of a few weeks she fell into a profound sleep, and awoke in her second state, taking up her new life again precisely where she had left it when she before passed from that state. She was not now a daughter or a sister. All the knowledge she possessed was that acquired during the few weeks of her former period of second consciousness. She knew nothing of the intervening time. Two periods widely separated were brought into contact. She thought it was but one night.

“In this state she came to understand perfectly the facts of her case, not from memory, but from information. Yet her buoyancy of spirits was so great that no depression was produced. On the contrary, it added to her cheerfulness, and was made the foundation, as was everything else, of mirth.

“These alternations from one state to another continued at intervals of varying length for fifteen or sixteen years, but finally ceased when she attained the age of thirty-five or thirty-six, leaving her *permanently in her second state*. In this she remained without change for the last quarter of a century of her life.”

"The change from a gay, hysterical, mischievous woman, fond of jests and subject to absurd beliefs or delusive convictions, to one retaining the joyousness and love of society, but sobered down to levels of practical usefulness, was gradual. The most of the twenty-five years which followed she was as different from her melancholy, morbid self as from the hilarious condition of the early years of her second state. Some of her family spoke of it as her third state. She is described as becoming rational, industrious, and very cheerful, yet reasonably serious: possessed of a well-balanced temperament, and not having the slightest indication of an injured or disturbed mind. For some years she taught school, and in that capacity was both useful and acceptable, being a general favorite with old and young.

"During these last twenty-five years she lived in the same house with the Rev. Dr. John V. Reynolds, her nephew, part of that time keeping house for him, showing a sound judgment and a thorough acquaintance with the duties of her position.

"Dr. Reynolds, who is still living in Meadville," says Dr. Mitchell. "and who has most kindly placed the facts at my disposal, states in his letter to me of January 4, 1888, that at a later period of her life she said she did sometimes seem to have a dim, dreamy idea of a shadowy past, which she could not fully grasp, and could not be certain whether it originated in a partially restored memory or in the statements of the events by others during her abnormal state.

"Miss Reynolds died in January, 1854, at the age of sixty-one. On the morning of the day of her death she rose in her usual health, ate her breakfast, and superintended household duties. While thus employed she suddenly raised her hands to her head and exclaimed: 'O!

I wonder what is the matter with my head!' and immediately fell to the floor. When carried to a sofa she gasped one or twice and died."

One of the most famous cases on record is that of Felida X, described by Dr. Azam of Bordeaux in 1876.

Felida X began to have secondary states at the age of fourteen. At the age of forty-four the secondary state occupied most of her time. She became pregnant in one of her secondary states and when she returned to her primary state was "disgraced" to find herself in that condition without knowing how it happened.

Another case is that of Leonie, described by Janet as follows:

"This woman, whose life sounds more like an improbable romance than a genuine history, has had attacks of natural somnambulism since the age of three years. She has been hypnotized constantly by all sorts of persons from the age of sixteen upwards, and she is now forty-five. Whilst her normal life developed in one way in the midst of her poor country surroundings, her second life was passed in drawing rooms and doctors' offices, and naturally took an entirely different direction. To-day, when in her normal state, this poor peasant woman is a serious and rather sad person, calm and slow, very mild with every one, and extremely timid: to look at her one would never suspect the personage which she contains. But hardly is she put to sleep hypnotically when a metamorphosis occurs. Her face is no longer the same. She keeps her eyes closed, it is true, but the acuteness of her other senses supplies their place. She is gay, noisy, restless, sometimes insupportably so. She remains good-

natured, but has acquired a singular tendency to irony and sharp jesting. Nothing is more curious than to hear her after a sitting when she has received a visit from strangers who wished to see her asleep. She gives a word-picture of them, apes their manners, pretends to know their little ridiculous aspects and passions, and for each invents a romance. To this character must be added the possession of an enormous number of recollections, whose existence she does not even suspect when awake, for her amnesia is then complete. . . . She refuses the name of Leonie and takes that of Leontine (Leonie 2) to which her first magnetizers had accustomed her. 'That good woman is not myself,' she says, 'she is too stupid!' To herself, Leontine or Leonie 2, she attributes all the sensations and all the actions, in a word all the conscious experiences which she had undergone in *somnambulism*, and knits them together to make the history of her already long life. To Leonie 1 (as M. Janet calls the waking woman) on the other hand, she exclusively ascribes the events lived through in waking hours. I was at first struck by an important exception to the rule, and was disposed to think that there might be something arbitrary in this partition of her recollections. In the normal state Leonie has a husband and children; but Leonie 2, the somnambulist, whilst acknowledging the children as her own, attributes the husband to 'the other.' This choice was perhaps explicable, but it followed no rule. It was not until later that I learned that her magnetizers in early days, as audacious as certain hypnotizers of recent date, had somnambulized her for her first accouchements, and that she had lapsed into that state spontaneously in the later ones. Leonie 2 was thus quite right in ascribing to herself the children—it was she who had had them, and the rule that her first trance-state forms

a different personality was not broken. But it is the same with her second or deepest state of trance. When after the renewed passes, syncope, etc., she reaches the condition which I have called Leonie 3, she is another person still. Serious and grave, instead of being a restless child, she speaks slowly and moves but little. Again she separates herself from the waking Leonie 1. 'A good but rather stupid woman,' she says, 'and not me.' And she also separates herself from Leonie 2: 'How can you see anything of me in that crazy creature?' she says. 'Fortunately I am nothing to her.' "

APPENDIX B

LETTERS

Phoenix, Ariz.

Dear Dr.

I am sending to your address a tract on the three races.

Perhaps it will explain to you where Norma got the three personalities. The Lord cast out the evil spirits by word of mouth. Nothing but a knowledge of the truth is knowledge if it is not truth it is nothing.

Yours respt.

(signed) Mr. —

Here is another :

(No date line)

I am a student of Astrology and am interested in the strange case of the young woman, Norma, and would like to set up her horoscope. By doing this I may be able to help clear up the mystery and help the unfortunate girl. I do not know that I can help in this case, but am anxious to try. Could you please furnish me with the girl's birth date, the year, month, day, hour, and minute if possible. A horoscope cast in this way is absolutely scientific, and I will gladly render this aid if I may have the exact birth date as requested.

Very sincerely,

(signed) Mrs. —

Galloway, Ohio

The Spiritists were also in evidence:

Dear Sir:

I have just read an article on your Subject of Norma and her dual nature Polly. Allow me to make you a suggestion as a man who has seen probably over a hundred cases. Take her to a good Spiritualist Meeting when she is Norma and when she is in a circle of Spirituals, Polly will take controll of her mentality but some of the people in the circle will treat her. This is a suggestion from a Spiritualist and not a Psychologist who goes a little deeper than most men.

Yours truly
(signed) Mr. —

N. J. Bloomfield
Dec. 27, 1921.

Dear Dr. Goddard:

I surely cannot keep from writing you all about Polly, now Dr. I have a little secret. I think if you took Polly to a good Medium or Spiretulist church direct to the preacher medium of the church he will probably help Polly to regain her persnol self and take away the Spiret of polly who is always pressing her spiret body in that of the older girl not leaving her rest. for befor long the Spiret of polly will take along away the Spiret of the older girl as she will not leave the older girl live happy and begrudges her the happy life as she should have it as per also she might think If the older girl was passed off this earth she might be better off for God alone knows each ones future. Take her in an Auto and run over to see the Medium pastor of that church. I am sure he will bring your charge around Wonderfull. She should have

Spiretualist treatments. I do hope you will try this and be thankfull of my advise. If it is only a few words. Merry Xmas.

Respectfully, (Signed) Miss ——
Bloomfield, N. J.

New York

Dear Sir :

You will kindly pardon the liberty that I am taking in writing to you, but I have wanted to do so for about a week, but for personal reasons did not. I have been following the case of Norma in our newspapers very closely and thought that perhaps my suggestion may be of some good. I, personally, have had a feeling that the Miss is carrying the Spirit of her Sister and wondered if she had ever been before a good strong Spiritual Medium? I do not know why I have had the inclination of placing this question to you, but I must truthfully say that I believe that this is a condition far beond the human run of dual spirits. If a good strong medium could find out where the connecting weakness is, I am sure that a good one could also give you the remedy for same. I simply have had no rest on this question, for every time that I have sat down to write this case would spring up before me and the same feeling of writing to you about it crop up. I suppose that you must imagine me a fanatic or crazy but I have had many personal experiences in the Mediumistic lines and must say that they have been too true to be a joke.

For another personal reason, I would greatly appreciate it if you would keep the receiving of this a personal matter, nearly a suggestion from someone that you do not know and perhaps never will, but sent in the same

spirit of interest to humanity as your personal attention to this poor unfortunate little Miss.

A Friend.

Pueblo, Colo. Dec. 23-21

My dear Doctor :

I have read with considerable interest press accounts of the case of Norma and as a Hypnotic practitioner of many years experience, very naturally I approve the use of Hypnosis as a cure, but you will find the course long and tedious.

My route would have led me to Chicago in the not very distant future and it was my intention to have had A——visit you and ask your permission to try Spiritualism, but the young man is in rapidly failing health and on advice of Denver Doctors he will go to Arizonia and cancel all his eastern contracts which were numerous and at very high salary.

With proper and sincere co-operation on your part and that of the girl (when normal) we will effect a permanent and rapid cure by SPIRITUALISM and that too, with a thousand miles or many thousands of miles between. Naturally, doctor, you have me now figured out as just one of the ordinary cranks that have written you, but sir, beg to call your attention to endorsements on margin of this letter and enclosure and you will note, I have some little reputation behind me.

A—— has made Spiritualism stand up in the broad open daylight and without concealment in cabinet or any other device and right out in the audience where the least trickery would instantly be detected. A—— is a spiritualist but he is also a showman and its for the publicity thats in it is the reason of this offer.

Yours very truly, (signed) Mr. ——

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The following seems to be a variant of the spiritualistic theory.

Dr. Henry H. Goddard, Columbus, Ohio

My dear Dr. Seeing an Article in to days Portland Oregons Oregonian regarding your hypnotizing Miss Norma as I am More Than Interested in The Occult Power Through Hypnotism I thought I would make a Suggestion where I think you can hurry up youre work.

I have the impression Norma is in a Trance whe she laps in the spells of her Sister. do not Say any thing to her while she is a wake. Though just as Soon as She has one of Those Spells

Then you Speak mently to her. ask a question just as you would Audibly to her when she is a wake. as you have to ask direct questions to a medium when in a Trance. now in Case she is in a trance you ask (or do all youre talking mently) her if it is Safe to develope her as a Clairvoyant and Clairandiant (you see if she is developed in that way/ you can bring her to you. by telepathy. anytime and at any distance) if she ses yes. then you Say now Norma when You wake up You will be a good Clairandiant and Clairvoyant and you can go in a Trance any time you wish to and when you *wake up* You will never know what it is to be sick or tired again long as you live and when you *wake up* you will never have any more of those Baby Polly spells. You will remain youre natural self. . . .

(signed) Miss —

One man called on us. He said he was a divine healer and that this second personality was a foreign spirit from some other planet, probably from Mars.

The following letter written in a beautiful *hand* shows

that Christian Science was willing to undertake the cure.

(No date line.)

Dr. Henry H. Goddard, Columbus, Ohio.

With much interest I have been reading the papers, concerning the strange malady of the seaming two personalities of the 19 year old girl and the 4 year old child called "Polly." How it has baffled Columbus Psychologists and all Medical Aid and to Mortal sence is beyond the help of man.

Why not give the case over too Christian Science? for we know mans exteemities is "Gods" Opportunity—and there is nothing impossible with "God"

I am a student in Christian science and have been healed of many claims. And personally known of claims (Diseases) being met thro Christian Science that have baffled the best of Physicians and no harm can come from trusting "God" fully in sickness as well as in health. Trusting you will give this a *deep thought*, for the healing means much to this young lady.

(No signature)

This seems to be from a homeopathic physician. The reader will note that none of these symptoms fit Norma's case.

Dear Doctor :

I am sending this communication in regard to the case of Norma of which I read in a paper yesterday. The remedies hereafter mentioned are homeopathic remedies and the symptoms follow. If I can be of any assistance to you along this line I shall be glad to hear from you.

Lachesis. Thinks she is somebody else and in the hands

of a superior power; thinks she is dead; thinks herself under superhuman control; will frequently cry and whine, then laugh in silliest manner; is often violent; talks; sings; or whistles constantly; makes odd motions with arms; irritable, illhumored: A girl after excessive study, uses exalted language; talks about being under influence of a superior power.

Cannabis sativa. Thinks she is some other person.

Cicuta virosa. Periodical ecstasy. Delerium, cries, sings, loss of consciousness with open eyes, knows no one, but when touched or spoken to answers questions, consciousness returns suddenly, and she does not remember what has passed; attacks twice a day.

He confounds the present with the past

He thinks himself a young child.

Likes childish toys, jumps from bed in a happy childish state.

Sincerely yours

(signed) Mr.—

The phrenologist too has a theory:

My dear Dr. I have been very much interested in the 19 yr. old girl's case, and have an article written on the same from the two accounts given in daily papers. A close psychological study of the girl from the reports convinces me that the trouble is in the back part of her brain. Phrenologically speaking, the two faculties, (and of course brain-centres) of Parentity (formerly called Parental Love) and Strife (formerly called combativeness) have been deranged. She has had a lick on the back of her head, or a fall, or something to disturb this section of brain. In the Polly state is there not a *supernatural heat* about an inch back of the top of the ears, and on back in the middle of the backhead—an inch

above the occipital knob? This abnormal action, for the time being, controls or suspends her normal consciousness, produces the somnambulistic condition and all that follows. Her liver and circulation may be involved, or there may some sexual function perverted.

The picture we have seen represents an intense Braino-Bilious temperament, and a pale-face showing slightly dark tints.

Excuse me for intruding, and what I have said please consider merely suggestive. But I am so interested in human nature and mental phenomena that I will regard it as a special favor if you will answer the questions on accompanying sheet and return at earliest convenience, stamp enclosed.

Kindly oblige, yours sincerely, (signed) Mr. —

Questions.

1. Is there any scar or sign of injury to the brain back of the ears? (Ans. None whatever)

2. How long has she been somnambulistic as shown by the history of the case? Ans. —

3. About how long does she sleep at a time? Ever six days? Ans. (No.)

4. What is her weight, and height? ans. Weight——. Height——.

5. Has she jet black hair? (No.)

6. Is her skin pale, or is there rose color in cheeks and lips? Ans. Good color.

7. Is there any indication of sexual ailment?

Two writers attempt an explanation from the physical side. For 15 yrs. and 84 these two are rather interesting.

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Chattanooga, Tenn.

December 22, 1921.

Dear Sir:

I am a boy fifteen years of age and am preparing to study medicine. I have been deeply interested in the strange case of Norma and would like to offer a suggestion. It may have never occurred to you that she may have two separate brains each existing independent and free of each other with no connection of thought between them. Many other freak beings have existed free of each other. Maybe on account of some unknown pressure on a nerve she becomes semiconscious while her thought goes into the undeveloped brain which may be developing slowly. Also she being a twin may have something to do with her calling herself Polly. Maybe the strength of the weak brain has gone to the other and made her smarter. Even if you think my suggestions and ideas are groundless and have no strength please write and tell me so. Thanking you in advance, I am yours, (signed) Mr.——

Jan. 31, 1922

I am 84 years old

Mr. Goddard, Dear Sir

The Norma case is very simple. One half of her brain is developed the other only slightly. The developed side for some cause either want of sufficient Blood or some Nervous defect goes to sleep then the other side works. Educate the weak side. The Devil lied when he told Eve she had an immortal soul. Man is an Animal with a chance of a Resurrecto from the dead to Immortality.

A suggestion; Cause of left handedness the left lobe of the brain is the most developed.

(signed) Mr. ——

San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir :

Have been reading much about Norma, the dual personality girl lately thru the papers. Being a palmist, or rightfully named, Chirologist. I am sure it would be interesting to both of us to understand what the lines in her hands reveal, from a mental standpoint of view, as the head line is the most wonderful line in the hand. etc. etc. . . . (6 pages and two drawings omitted)

(signed) Mr.——

Denver, Colo.

12-2-12

Dear Sir :

Seeing article in newspaper dated Dec. 1-21 about Norma who you say has two distinct personalities And as you think hypnotism will cure this particular case. I would like very much to get in touch with you in this case as hypnotism, mesmerism, dual personalities the mystery of mind are not at the present time understood by any one, (Sic) and this is a very vital point to humanity for the reason that all forms of Insanity are from this very reason and until this subject is understood by the Medical men you will never accomplish any cure. The reason of dual personalities is caused by the conscious mind giving up control to the Subconscious force which is the cause of all brain disturbances. And as the mystery of mind is not understood the Subconscious invisible outside force as it is called by science and who are all in the dark just how to understand same I have just published a booklet with full explanations on same which I wish to bring to the attention of the medical prof. If you will send me your address I will forward my booklet and my experimental suggestions will enable

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you to prove this question to your own satisfaction.

If booklet is not satisfactory you may keep same with no obligations on your part. Sent on 30 day guarantee price \$2.00, thanking you in advance, I am, Very truly yours, (signed) Mr. —

I did not reply, so he writes again!

Dear Sir:

I have read the two articles on the dual personalities in the case of Norma. I have written you on Dec. 3 to get your address to explain this phenomenal case. If you will communicate with me I will send you my booklet I have just lately published which will explain her case. *You or no one will ever accomplish a cure or understand this phenomena unless you read my booklet which explains all physical and mental phenomena in the annals of psychological and physiological research that no one has ever discovered. My explanation will upset all science.* Thanking you in advance, I am very truly yours, (signed) Mr. —

(Italics mine!) author.

Cleveland, Ohio

Dec. 22, 1921

Dr. Henry H. Goddard

Dear Sir:

I noticed in the Sunday News-Leader of Dec. 18th the account of the interesting case of Norma, the girl of dual personality. I have been a student for many years of human and animal Psychology and general Biology. I have conducted many successful experiments in Physiological Psychology, and if I may I would like to make

a few suggestions which you may find beneficial in this most unusual case.

The Polly nature which vies with Norma for possession of her body, is undoubtedly that of her twin sister, and represents the state of developement in her sister at the time of her death, minus certain losses due to the time of its appearance in the life of Norma. Which would probably reduce its intelligence, to the four year period which you have designated, this Polly spent; does not represent the divine spirit of her sister which upon her death returned to the God who gave it; but rather the spirit of nature which was carried over into the human from the animal in the course of evolution. You will find that the Polly spirit is deceitful, desperately wicked and denying that Jesus Christ is the son of God. In making this test however; be sure that Polly is in full possession of the body and is uninfluenced by the spirit of Norma. The reason Norma did not remember Polly or Polly, Norma lies in the fact that Polly does not use the brain of her host; neither does the corresponding spirit of Norma always use the brain.

These natural spirits reside in and operate through the sympathetic rather than the viscer-motor nervous system, controlling the later from the solar plexus rather than the brain, which accounts for her ability to walk in her sleep. It is like the engineer of a ship directing it's course in the absence of the captain, this of course is a hazardous risk, and should not be tolerated, NO, not for a single minute.

The treatment which I would suggest in this case, is, first to inform Norma that her unhappy condition is due to her criminal leinancy in allowing Polly to enter her body at all, and that it is her duty to see to it that Polly gets out and stays out. For she is an enemy of the

worst sort and would if she could land her barque in the port of insanity.

This task she will be able to accomplish with the aid which you are able to give her by dealing directly with Polly, not thru hypnotic influence, but by dealing with Polly, in giving her to understand that you recognize her as an imposter, and intruder, and an enemy, to your patient Norma. Giving her to distinctly understand that you do not propose to tolerate her presence in Norma's body, not for a minute. Also giving Norma to understand that, if she does not eject Polly, that you will meet out to her: suitable punishment for her neglect to do so. The punishment being directed with a view to the animal nature which Polly represents and the life nature of Norma.

Imposed fasting and confinement in bed being among the most effective methods of punishment.

Hoping you will find these suggestions beneficial, I beg to remain, Respectfully yours, (signed) Mr. —

Chicago, Ill

Dec. 5, 1921

Dear Sir:

Just reading about Norma, the girl that is suffering from two personalities and is treated by hypnosis I have demonstrated hypnosis for the past (21) years. and there is just one way to treat this young lady. I will pay my own expense if allowed to take charge of this case. Writ or wire, Yours truly,

(signed) Mr. — D. C. M. P.

Medina City, Texas

Dec. 29, 21

Dear Dr. Goddard. permit me to make a suggestion—

your patient is suffering from a Freak of Nature. I would advise her to marry immediately and bear children. In all probability her baby self will be transferred to her offspring and disappear from her own personality. If this is tried and succeeds which I feel certain it will, I would be glad to hear from you later. Very truly etc.

(signed) Mr.—

Dear Sir :

The enclosed article came to my notice by chance—If I do not intrude to much on your valuable time will you kindly tell me—is this report correct in detail?

I am a student of all religions—oriental and occidental—of ancient and modern psychology and the powers of mind—Ancient Brahminism and Primitive Pantheism have taught me the simple-truths of Law—and this report is confusing—If this correct—please state—what hypothesis do you build on—?

I will lay aside all technical terms and give the basic laws of form—The soul is an electric entity—it belongs to the individual—it is the life dynamo of the flesh—The flesh is composed of earth (mineral) air—fire and water—At death the three—heavier elements loose form but the air (astral form) continues—alive for some years—This form is what is commonly called a ghost—A register of the physical thoughts and emotions during life—these are alive with it—It is claimed by nearly if not all—oriental religions that this ghost can attach itself to a sympathetic or a negative person and prolong its life by sustenance from the living flesh—This is evidently what has happened to this young lady—and a hypnotic operator has the power to eliminate the ghostly vampire—and the words most powerful are these “Detach

yourself—depart”—speak this to the astral vampire emphatically—after you have put the subject to sleep—and then—say—to your subject—Sleep—your soul is free—it has full possession of your body—and it will register this truth indelibly—awake—an independent individual—you are free personally—be refreshed—virile—and healed.

I have watched the Psychical Research Society experimenting—gathering data and I have waited for the announcement of the scientific proof of the above—The immortal soul cannot be slain—by any man—The psychological operator has the power to banish—the soul in a subject under hypnotic control but that—when once the astral chord is severed will slay the body—and set the soul free and the operator will do it in a spirit of destruction and pay—finally—pay in full—IT IS THE LAW.

The ghost is an uncanny visitor for those who can see the-specter fear what seems unreal—Many do see it—I have seen a-few—I was born in Penna. Where the passing generation told tales of spooks and how in time they would cease to come in form but a violet light moved where they had haunted—I have heard this from the illiterate mountain folks immersed in “superstition” and from well versed Theosophists—

In all nature there is no independent form without its own-soul—its dynamic center—that devine electrical, immortal entity—that gathered it—but there are two forms that live as one in-perfect accord—many-many times—and this undoubtedly is one case of perfect affinity—I am deeply interested in Norma.

I trust you will welcome this message in the spirit it is given and if you are deeply interested in psychological problems perhaps the subject of hypnotic release

would aid you in your work.—Your work in the Bureau of *Juvenile* Research chains me—I have been an independent welfare worker for motherhood and child for some years—and the betterment of children has grown into a mighty cry that wells up from my heart——

A friend to children is a friend to all.

Sincerely for the cause,

(signed) Mrs.——

APPENDIX C

NORMA'S DREAMS

Norma wanted me to stay with her until she went to sleep. We talked rather at random until finally the discussion centered on the subjects of the frightful dreams she has at times. I asked her what she dreamed of and her discussion brought out the following four trends of dreams:

(1) She dreams of flowers, great patches of them of many colors.

(2) She dreams of snakes and has often awakened, while Polly, clawing at her mouth and asserting that there were snakes in her mouth and that she was trying to pull them out. On one other occasion she insisted on taking off some of her clothing because, as she said, there were snakes on it.

(3) She dreams of falling.

(4) She dreams of being pursued by some one.

Norma's Dream, October 2-3

She was at Hotel Statler in Cleveland with Miss Beekman and Mr. Brant. Miss Beekman was her roommate, Mr. Brant was her daddy and was waiting for her to go to the theatre. Norma was going upstairs to put on her evening gown when a man dressed like an old-fashioned guard shot her in the back. Then Dr. G. rushed up the

stairs and gave her the suggestion that she would not die. She felt funny, and her head ached. Then she fell to floor. Then she waked.

Norma's Dream, October 3-4, 1921

Norma dreamed that she was walking with her sister, Pauline, who was bouncing a ball on the sidewalk. Norma told her to stop because it made her nervous, it made too much noise and people were looking on and it annoyed them "and that annoyed me." She stopped for a while and then she started up again. Then she lost the ball as they were going over the bridge. It was a ball that Norma prized.

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